



HIST.
OF THE
BRIT
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PART
I.



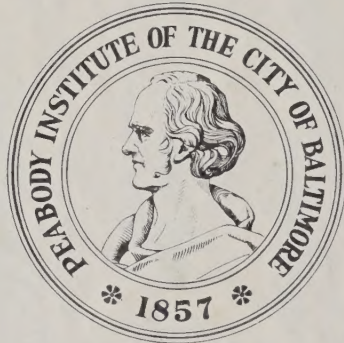






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THE HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONS IN AMERICA

FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

JOHN WHITE

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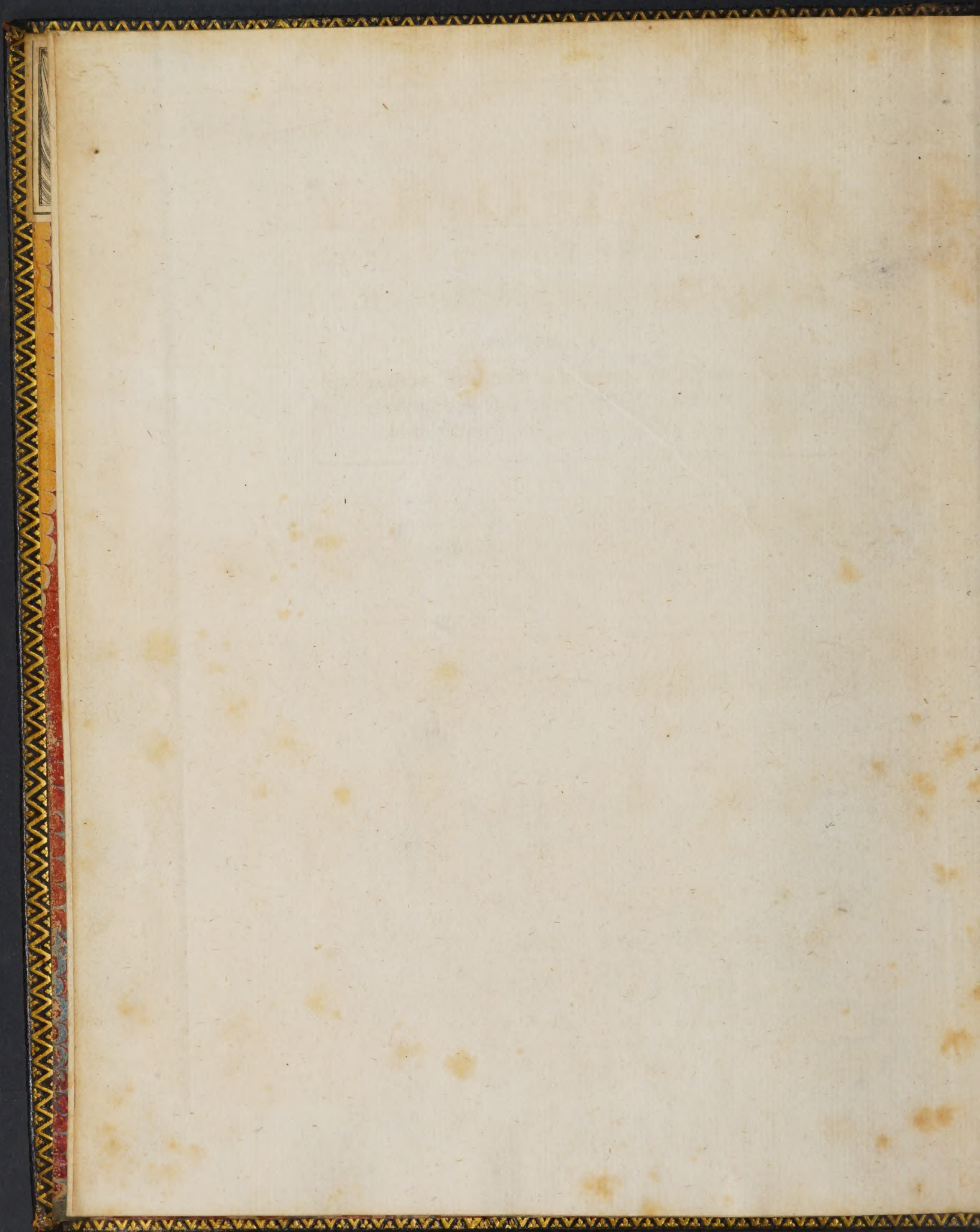
BY

JOHN WHITE

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONS

IN AMERICA



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
British Plantations in AMERICA.

WITH
A Chronological Account of the most remarkable
Things, which happen'd to the first ADVENTURERS
in their several Discoveries of that New World.

PART I.
Containing the History of *Virginia*; with Remarks on the
Trade and Commerce of that Colony.

By Sir WILLIAM KEITH, *Bart.*



L O N D O N :
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

ASSOCIATION

TO

His Royal Highness

F R E D E R I C

Prince of *Wales*, &c.

S I R,

TH E Concern which Your
Royal Highness has, on
all Occasions, been pleased to
express for the Trading Part
A 2 of

DEDICATION.

of this Nation at Home, and the just Desire You have to be inform'd of the State of the Colonies and Plantations Abroad, encouraged me to beg leave, that I might presume to publish the following History under the Auspice of Your Royal Highness's Name and Protection.

WHEN a great Prince condescends to countenance the Interests of the Merchant, and to compassionate the laborious Condition of the Planter, he wisely considers how much it depends on these Mens Industry, to find out the necessary Means of enriching the Commonwealth, and supporting

DEDICATION.

supporting the just Authority of
the State.

LET the powerful Influence of
that noble and generous Disposition,
which inclines Your Royal Highness
to do Good to All, rivet the Affec-
tions of the People of *Great-Britain*
to Every Branch of that most Il-
lustrious and Royal House, from
which You are descended ; that this
Nation may rejoice in the Prospect
of a Race of Princes, inheriting the
Virtues which inspire You, Great
Sir, and Your Royal Consort the
Princess, with every Thing that
tends to promote and complete the
Happiness

DEDICATION.

Happiness of a brave and free People. I am, with profound Respect,

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's

Most Dutiful, Most Humble,

and Most Obedient Servant,

W. KEITH.

TO THE
READER.

ALTHO' there is not any thing more requisite to explain the History of a Country, than an exact and complete Map, to which the Reader has continual Occasion to have Recourse, and that those here presented are the latest and best of the Kind that could be got ; yet it must be own'd, they are not so perfect as could be wished, because to make an exact and careful Survey of a large Country, is such an expensive and laborious Work, as can only be executed by Order, and at the Charge of the Public. Wherefore it is to be hoped, That as the British Plantations on the Continent of America are daily increasing, both in Extent and Value, the public Spirit which influences the Conduct of the Legislative Body, will some time or other induce them to enable His Majesty to give proper Directions, That the several Governors may cause exact Surveys to be made of the Colonies, over which they respectively preside.

THERE

P R E F A C E.

THERE is one thing more, for which I am sorry there should be any Occasion to make an Apology, namely, The Want of a distinct and particular Account of the Exports and Imports in Trade, to, and from Virginia; for after a most assiduous and respectful Application to the proper Offices, from whence these Accounts only can be had, it was told me, in a very civil Manner, That such Things could not be granted without Orders from Above; which I had no Room to expect, because I could not be favoured with Access to view the Books and Papers relating to the Plantations in any of our public Offices, or to receive the least Assistance of that Kind in the Prosecution of this well-intended, and (as it is presumed) useful Work.

E R R A T A.

PAge 31. Line 5. for *to*, read *of*. Ibid. l. 6. after *all*, add *to*. p. 34. l. 20. for *compared*, read *computed*. p. 54. l. 18. for *Westward*, read *Eastward*. p. 135. l. 2. read *former Administration*.





A GENERAL
INTRODUCTION
TO A
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH Plantations.

THE Accounts hitherto published of the *British* Colonies in *America* having been found imperfect and deficient in many Things, of which it has been thought necessary that the Public should be truly and more fully inform'd; we have, at the Desire of some Persons of Honour and Worth, undertaken to give a faithful History of the Settling and Improvement of the *British* Plantations, with proper Remarks on their Trade and Government, for the better Satisfaction of those, who have both the Inclination and Power to enrich the State, and support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of *Great Britain*, by an extended and well-regulated Commerce. And although this History may not inspire such lofty Ideas, as are calculated to form the Warrior's Mind, and awaken the Hero's Ambition; yet the Subject will be found to be

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of such Importance to the Well-being and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, as to claim the Attention of the judicious Statesman, the sincere Patriot, and the industrious Merchant.

THERE is something so grave and solemn in History, that it necessarily affects the honest Reader with that awful Respect, which an impartial Historian always pays to Truth; for if the Writer keeps a strict Guard over his Passions, not suffering them to be any ways interested in the Facts and Circumstances which he is indispensably obliged to relate, though some few may wish that several Things had not been so openly exposed to public View; yet the impartial Reader will, doubtless, approve the Author's Candor, and make use of the Mirror set before him, to correct for the future, according to his own Judgment and Ability, the Errors of former Times.

IN the Prosecution of this Design, it is proposed to observe the following Method, *viz.*

1. To inquire into the Nature of Trade in general, how and for what Purposes it has been carried on in the Course of Time, by the most powerful and flourishing States in the World, what Relation it has to Civil Government, and the intimate Connection that must always subsist between them.

2. To inquire into the first Discovery of *America*, and into the particular Views which induced the *European* Nations to send over great Numbers of their People to make large Settlements, and to plant Colonies in that Part of the World.

3. To

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3. To trace out from the first *English* Expedition into *America*, the particular History of each Colony in its natural Order of Time, observing the Changes which have happened to their respective Soils, Trade and Government.

TRADE in general is a voluntary Exchange of Things we possess, for those in the Possession of others, either to supply the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, or to secure, in the End, a certain Profit to ourselves. We do not learn, that Trade, under the Patriarchal State, was carried any further than barely to provide Food, Rayment, and other Things necessary for the Preservation and Use of the Family; but as soon as the Increase of Mankind gave Rise to Society, whereby they became subjected to the Laws of a Civil Government, the Interest of the particular Members was made subservient on all Occasions to that of the Public; which being the Standard of all Commercial Dealings, Trade was regulated according to the Advantages or Disadvantages that accrued thereby to the Community, and Body Politic; for as the good or bad Condition of any State proportionably affects the Safety and particular Interest of every individual Member, it is inconsistent with the Nature of Things to suppose, that a Civil Government ought to permit, much less encourage, any Traffick or private Gain to be carried on, which evidently appears to be prejudicial to the public Interest and Prosperity of the Common-wealth; the last and greatest Object of every good Citizen's Care and Ambition.

By this artful Contrivance of uniting Mens Interests together, under a regular Form of Government, every

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Kingdom or State had Access to the Means of increasing in Riches, Strength and Power, according to the Fertility of the Soil, the Advantage of the Situation, and the Number and Industry of the People; and wheresoever these happened to be directed and improved to the best Account, by the Wisdom and Care of a good Magistracy, that Nation was sure to hold the Ballance of Power amongst its Neighbours, until it came to be enervated with Luxury and Vice, or out-done by some other State in the Purity of its Laws, and in a resolute and uniform Adherence to the sure Maxims of an honest, virtuous, and good Government.

BUT notwithstanding the innumerable Advantages derived to Mankind, from the right Use of Civil Government, it was a considerable Time, before the selfish Notions which were imbibed, and the strong Passions that predominated in the Patriarchal State, could subside, so as cordially to receive and improve the happy Effects of an impartial, wise, and steady Government: For although the first considerable Commerce we read of, was carried on by the *Arabians* and *Egyptians*, who extended the same Eastward to *Persia*, and to the furthestmost Parts of the *Indies*, as well as to *Ethiopia* towards the South; whilst the *Tyrians* and *Phenicians* monopolized the Trade of *Lesser Asia*, and all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* towards the West; yet as they were unskilled and weak in War, they increased their Riches by Craft and Piracy, robbing and plundering indifferently both Friends and Enemies, until the important Business of National Trade came to be regulated on a more equitable Foot, by the Power of the Warlike Nations, such as the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* Commonwealths; who established their Finances, and raised immense public Revenues by the Increase of Trade, which
effectually

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effectually maintain'd both Fleets and Armies to carry on their ambitious Designs.

FROM hence may be observed, that it was the Constitution of a Body Politic, which introduced into the Mind the first Idea of a public Interest, or common Good in Society; and it is to this elegant Invention we are indebted for the Discovery and Improvement of Arts and Sciences, and all the glorious Effects of that public Spirit, which so eminently appear'd amongst the Antients in various Shapes, on many Occasions; and which is to this Day, and will be to the End of the World, the distinguishing Mark of the highest Virtue and Perfection human Nature can possibly attain to in any Condition of Life.

THIS amiable Principle expands itself into every Breast, and inspires the generality of a Free People, with true Notions of Liberty, or, which is the same, with strong Desires of promoting their Country's Good, and of despising any Profit or Advantage, which can be obtain'd, at the Expence, or to the Dishonour of the Commonwealth.

AND although Trade has been too frequently treated with Contempt, and all Trading Men in some arbitrary Countries are, even to this Day, excluded from the Privileges of Gentlemen; yet we shall be forced to acknowledge, that it is the Merchant's proper Business and Care to enliven and circulate the vital Juices of the Body Politic; and that the Riches which every well-govern'd State acquires by a flourishing Commerce, are not only the Fruit of the Merchant's Genius and Industry, but also the Support of that necessary Power, which must always be ready to defend the Friends, and conquer the Enemies of the State.

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IF we do but judiciously compare, not only the Comforts of Life, which are indiscriminately enjoyed with Freedom by the Subjects of a Commercial State, but also the impenetrable Connection wherewith the Interest of all its Members is cemented together into one firm united Body, with that forced Pomp and Grandeur which is raised on the Slavery and Oppression of Men subjected to a military and arbitrary Power, that restrains the Liberty, and disposes of the Property of its Subjects at the Will and Pleasure of a single Person; we shall readily be convinced, that it is to a well-regulated and equal Commerce, which the greatest Powers, and most flourishing States in the World have owed their Wealth, Strength and Knowledge, as well as every other distinguishing Mark of true Happiness: So that Trade may justly be considered to be the Arteries and Sinews of the Body Politic, by which its easy Motion is continued and preserved: That it is likewise the Fountain of Riches, and consequently of Strength and Power; and, in short, that Trade is the necessary Means of acquiring every thing needful to secure and promote Peace and Prosperity to Mankind in Society, and all other rational Enjoyments of Life.

As from the common Principles on which Civil Government and Trade mutually and reciprocally depend, we may compute the Strength and Power of any State; so from the Extent and Condition of a Country's Dealing with its Neighbours in Trade, we shall be able to determine the Rank it holds amongst them, and the Benefits or Injuries it is liable to receive by Peace or War.

WHETHER

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WHETHER therefore Councils are employed, to carry on and support the Glory of Conquest by War, to maintain the public Faith, and secure the Interest of the Nation by Treaty, or by any other Honourable Means to increase the Peoples Wealth, and provide for their future Ease and Tranquillity; we shall find, that the Advancement and Security of a free Commerce is the only solid Foundation whereon to raise the Interest, Power and Dignity of any State.

HISTORY informs us, that the Species of Mankind multiplied much faster at the Beginning, than it has done in those latter Ages of the World; and probably, it was such an extraordinary and sudden Increase of People, that forced them in those Days to seek for more Room, either by extending the Limits of their Country, or by detaching great Numbers to make dependent Settlements, and plant Colonies in distant Soils, and more fruitful Climates: And as this could not be done without often incroaching upon the Rights and Conveniencies of other Nations, it was constantly productive of Wars and bitter Contests for Victory and Conquest; which was then the Point in View, and ultimate End of all State Policy: For we may suppose, that every Kingdom or Commonwealth was so fully employed in the Means of providing the common Necessaries of Life for such vast Swarms of People, that there was no Time could be spared for luxurious Inventions, or even those Improvements which were afterwards introduced by Art, and which, in Truth, were the principal Foundation and Commencement of that profitable and useful Commerce amongst Mankind, which is here described under the Designation of a National Trade; by which is meant, a Trade that brings
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a certain Advantage to the public Interest of the State, as well as a private Profit to the Merchant, or particular Dealer.

BUT whilst State Policy chiefly consisted in gratifying that immoderate Desire of Power and Conquest, wherewith the Heroes of Antiquity were inspired, Trade was no otherwise regarded, than as it became subservient to their ambitious Designs; so that the Improvements then made in the Arts of Ship-building and Navigation, were valued only in proportion to the Use that was made of them in War, and particularly by the *Romans*, as the Means of subduing those large Provinces which were afterwards annexed to the Dominion of that powerful State; and whose Commerce, for want of a political and due Regulation, increased the Wealth and Power of the Members in a much greater Proportion than that of the Head, which contributed not a little to the Downfall of that glorious Commonwealth.

THE Kingdoms and States, who, though subjected to the *Roman* Government, had been always protected from Insults by the Legions, and left at full Liberty to reap the Benefit of Commerce in what Shape they pleased to pursue it, were no sooner disengaged from that Yoke, than they began to model themselves into separate independent Governments or Commonwealths; then, instead of the former reigning Ambition for Conquest, and universal Dominion, which had distracted the World for many Ages successively, the Improvement of Arts and Sciences, and a good Oeconomy by the proper Regulation of Trade and Industry, came gradually to take Place; and as Mankind improved, by the useful Discoveries that were daily made, they

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they learn'd from thence a more just and perfect Knowledge of their own Weakness and Capacity.

EXPERIENCE thus, assisted by the Force of Reason, began to teach the wiser and better sort of Men, a much shorter and easier way to the Enjoyment of Peace and Contentment in Life ; since a fair and useful Commerce was not only allowed, but universally encouraged and protected by the Laws of every Society, as a public Benefit to Mankind in general ; and the former Practices of Rapine and Piracy were totally suppress'd, and by the same universal Consent every-where punished with Death : So that from this Period we may date the Commencement of the Law of Nations, which has made but one Society of all the Free States in the World ; by extending its Immunities and Privileges equally to all of them, and particularly in protecting every Country and State in the Enjoyment of those Profits, which may be acquired by carrying on a National and Fair Trade.

BUT that we may still have a more perfect Idea and Conception of what is to be understood by a National Commerce, the States and Commonwealths, whose Subjects in time of Peace are at liberty to trade with each other, under certain Restrictions and Regulations imposed by the Municipal Laws of their respective Governments, are to be considered as so many individual Merchants ; because in order to discover the Advantages or Disadvantages which accrue to any Nation by Trade, the Value of its Natural Product, as well as Manufactures and Improvements, and especially such Parts of them as can be spared to be exchanged with Foreigners for ready Cash, and other Commodities that are wanted, must be exactly computed ; that after the Nation's Expence, and the various Exchanges in

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Trade

Trade with other Countries, are justly stated, and the Whole brought to a Balance, we may clearly see to whom the Profit or Loss of such Dealings properly belongs, and from thence be instructed what new Laws and Regulations are yet wanting, to rectify and improve the Conduct of each particular State in Things of that Nature, for the Time to come. Thus, when either by the Deficiency of a sufficient Quantity of our own Product to be exported, and given in Exchange to other Nations, or (which is sometimes the Case) when by a greater Share of Industry we are outdone by Foreign States, in the Improvement of the same Manufactures and Merchandize, whereby the Balance of Trade is turn'd against us, and our Artificers and labouring People thereby driven from us to seek for Employment elsewhere; then the Wisdom of the State has sometimes thought fit to send such of their People as could be spared, to settle themselves in various Climates, where some new Species of Product might be raised, and sent home to revive Commerce, and to assist the Public by restoring to it again the lost Balance of National Trade.

AND this being the original Intention of, and the only justifiable Reason that can be given for the Practice within these last Two Centuries, of making Settlements and planting Colonies on the uninhabited vacant Lands of *America*, whose People are protected by, but made subservient to, and dependent on their respective Mother States in *Europe*; it may be of Service towards completing the Design of the following History of the *British* Plantations, to make some particular Observations in this Place, on that mutual Interest which unites these Colonies to *Great Britain*, and on the reciprocal Obligations which always subsist between them.

IN

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II

IN all the Royal Patents and Deeds of Gift which have been made to particular Persons, of Lands for planting Colonies in *America*, Care has been taken not only to preserve the Sovereignty and Allegiance due to the Crown of *Britain*, but likewise to restrain the People of the respective Colonies, from enacting amongst themselves any By-Laws or Ordinances whatsoever, repugnant to, or any ways inconsistent with, the Fundamental Laws and Constitution of the Mother State, to whose Legislative and Supreme Authority they most certainly are, and ought always to be subjected.

AND as by the Design of those Settlements to raise new and different kinds of Merchandize for the *European* Market, it was both reasonable and necessary that they should be protected, and their Inhabitants encouraged, in the Produce of such Commodities, as being exchanged for *British* Manufactures, would furnish Cloathing, and other Necessaries, to themselves, and at the same time assist *Great Britain* in the Balance of National Trade with other Countries ; especially by providing large Quantities of such Goods out of the Labour of their own Subjects in *America*, and in Exchange for *British* Manufacture, as before the Settlement of the Colonies they were obliged to purchase with ready Money from other Nations ; so the Inhabitants of the Colonies, on the other hand, not only enjoyed the Advantage of the same Laws, and the sweet Comforts of *English* Liberty in all respects, but they were also sure of being protected from the Insults and Attacks of any foreign Enemy, by the Naval Force, and at the Public Expence of *Great Britain*.

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MOREOVER,

MOREOVER, in tolerable good Seasons it depends on the Frugality and Industry of the Planter in *America*, when he acts uprightly, and is fairly dealt with, to secure a Balance in his *British* Factor's Hands, over and above providing himself with all that he wants from *Europe*: And as such Overplus or Balance is commonly placed in some of the Public Funds, or laid out on Land-Security in *Great Britain*, it seldom or never returns again to *America*, but remains a Part of the National Wealth or Stock.

IN like Manner the Profits arising to *British* Subjects in *America*, from their exchanging Lumber, &c. with the Product of foreign Plantations, either to be used in *America*, or returned to *Europe* for *British* Account, must terminate in the Advantage of *Great Britain*; who thereby reaps a certain Gain from the Labour of Foreigners, as well as from that of her own Subjects, besides engrossing a larger Share of such Commodities as the better enables her to govern the *European* Market.

FROM this simple and plain, but true State of the Case, it is evident of what Importance it must be to the public Interest of *Great Britain*, to be exceedingly careful to point out and direct the Object of their Subjects Labour, in the several Colonies in *America*, by such gentle Encouragements as will gradually lead them into the Channels of mutual and public Advantage; for Trade is a Child of Liberty, which either may be reared and nourished by Indulgence, or depressed and sunk under the Awe of a too severe Restraint.

THUS the Inhabitants of the Plantations may be compared to a few Hands, who are employed in the Improvement
of

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of any Manufacture on an *English* Farm : For while they eat up the Bread-Corn, and save the Farmer or Landlord the Trouble of looking out for a Market, they supply him with a more valuable Commodity, and increase their own little Stock by a Saving out of the Wages, which they enable him to allow them.

BUT if, instead of Manufactures and such-like Inventions for Improvement, we suppose the same Hands to employ themselves in raising of Corn, &c. on that Part of the Farm which they were appointed to occupy, they must of course interfere with their Landlord at Market ; and in place of bringing any Advantage, as in the first Case, they would then become Rivals to their Master, and an insupportable Burthen on the Farm.

IT is easy to talk of Penal Laws, Prohibitions, and such-like Severities, to be executed by the Force of Power ; but the most effectual and profitable Way of restraining the Subjects in the Plantations from interfering with *Great Britain* in her Home-Trade and Manufactures, will be, to take due Care that the Colonies be always plentifully supply'd with *British* Cloths, and other *European* Commodities, at a much cheaper Rate than it is possible for them to raise and manufacture such Things within themselves : And likewise, that the Importation of all such Product and Manufacture from the Colonies, as are fit to supply the Wants of *Great Britain*, and to assist the Public in the Balance of National Trade with other Countries, be properly encouraged.

WE find by daily Experience, that Mens Minds are no other ways to be subdued under a just and free Government,
than

than by making them feel, that it is their Interest to submit themselves to, and chearfully comply with the Laws and Ordinances of the State ; for as long as the Generality of a People are truly sensible, that their Rulers and Governors have nothing so much at Heart as the public Good of the Society, and the Honour and Prosperity of the Commonwealth, there will be no Occasion to apprehend either Discontent, Insurrection or Rebellion.

FROM these Premises we may presume to draw the following Conclusions, *viz.*

THAT the Benefits arising from the *American* Colonies to *Great Britain*, depend on a careful and due Regulation of the Plantation Trade to their mutual Advantage.

THAT supposing such a Regulation to be made, and duly observed, the Increase of Shipping and Trade in the Plantations, would be a real Addition to the Riches and Power of the *British* State ; and consequently, that whatsoever would hurt and prejudice the one, must likewise be injurious to the other.

THAT whatever tends to separate the particular Interest of the Subject in the Plantations, from the public Interest and Advantage of *Great Britain*, must be hurtful to both ; and that whosoever endeavours to alienate the dutiful Affections of the one, or the paternal Tendernefs of the other, with a View to private Gain, is an Enemy to the united and inseparable Interest of both ; or, which is the same Thing, to the public Interest of the *British* State.

THAT

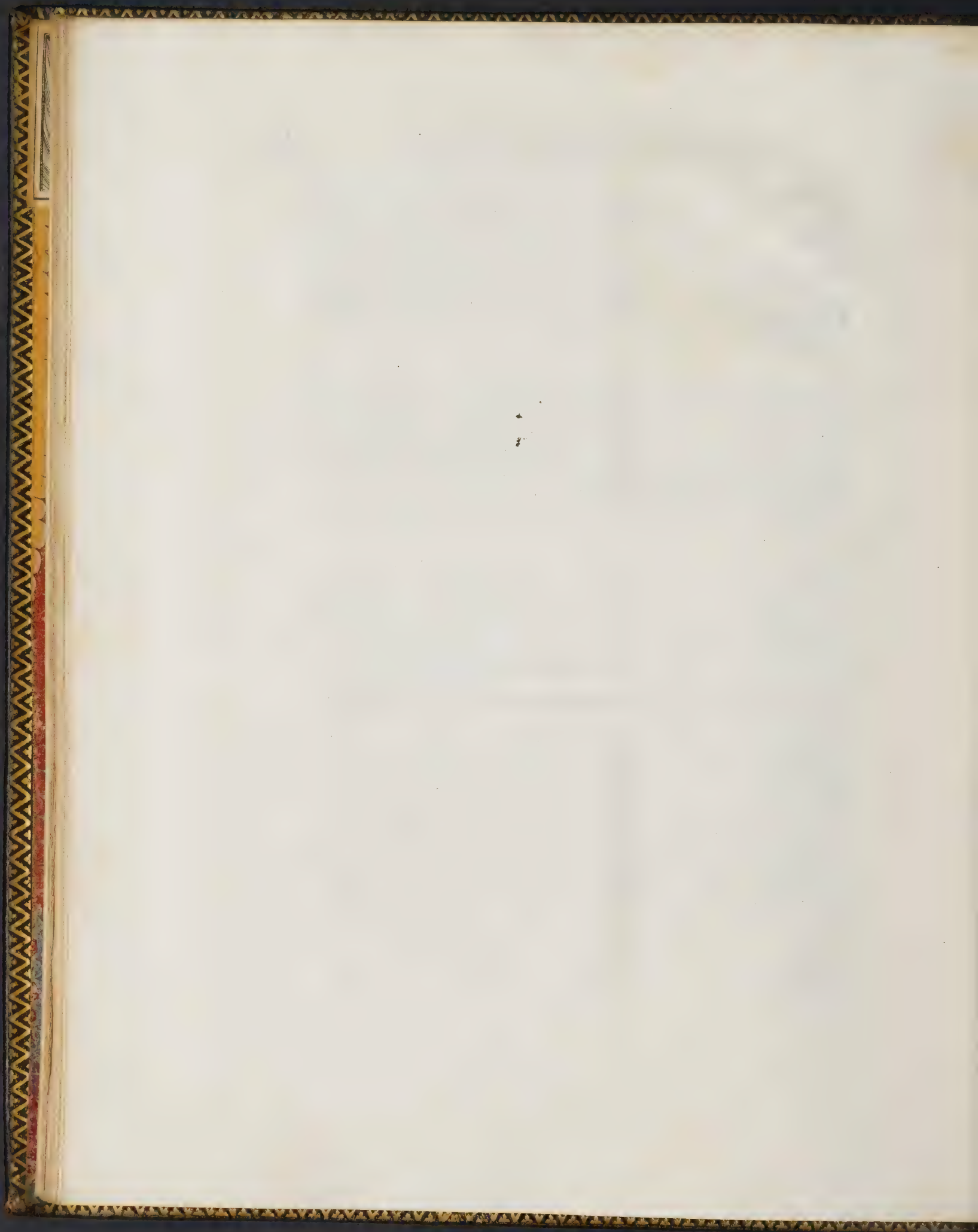
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THAT to delay Justice, and refuse the Benefit of the Laws, or in any other Shape to countenance and suffer the Subjects in the Plantations to be oppressed, is an Infringement of the Liberties of the People of *Great Britain*, and an Offence against the State; the comfortable Support and Preservation of whose Parts, is essential to the public Good of the Whole.

LASTLY, That as the Strength and Duration of every State depends on the equal Nourishment and Union of all its Members, it is altogether impracticable to separate and divide the Interest of the Subject in the *British* Plantations from that of the whole State.

A



A

Chronological Account

OF THE

Most Remarkable EVENTS

Which happened immediately after the

First DISCOVERY of *AMERICA*.

The DISCOVERY of AMERICA.

WHEN that Part of the World now called *America*, was accidentally discovered, it gave equal Surprise and Admiration to all the *Eastern* Inhabitants of the Earth; introducing many new and hypothetical Notions into their former Systems of Philosophy and Geography, which, with the fresh Discoveries that were continually making of vast Tracts of Land, inhabited by Millions of People never before heard of, gave Rise to many fabulous Stories, and led the first Writers, on such extraordinary Events, into a Multitude of very wild and extravagant Relations, which have been injudiciously received as a Part of the History of those Times.

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TO obviate this Difficulty as much as is possible, we have every where curtail'd the voluminous, but trifling Digressions, on little Circumstances and Curiosities, no ways essential or pertinent to the Thread of the History, with which the Writers of Voyages and Travels are mostly filled, and which tend only to confound the Relation, and lessen the Probability of the Facts which are truly Historical.

THE first Account that has been any-where given of *America*, is taken out of an old *Welsh* Chronicle, which relates, That in the Year of Christ 1170, *Madoc*, a younger Son of *Owen Gayneth*, Prince of *North Wales*, finding his Country embroil'd on the Death of his Father, by the Contentions which arose between his elder Brother *David*, and *Hewel* a Bastard, whom *David* overcame and slew in Battle, he left his Country, and embarking on Ship-board from the North Coast of *Ireland*, he sailed Westward in quest of Adventures, and came to a Land where he found many strange Things.

MR. *Daniel Powel*, in his History of *Wales*, acknowledges that many fabulous Stories were reported of this *Madoc*; but seems to affirm the Truth of his Voyage, and relates the Comparison which he made at his Return, between the pleasant and fruitful Countries which he had so lately seen without Inhabitants, and those barren rocky Lands about which his Brothers and Kindred were so anxious as to murder one another; he further represents *Madoc* to have been so fond of his new Discovery, that he provided ten Sail of Ships, and having engaged a great many Persons of both Sexes to try their Fortunes along with him,

him, he return'd the same year on a second Voyage, but that neither he, nor any of his People, were ever more heard of.

ABOUT 300 Years after *Madoc's* Expedition, viz. in the Year 1484. it is reported, that one *Alonzo Sanchez of Huelva* in a small Ship with fifteen Persons on board, were accidentally driven by a Tempest on the Coast of *America*; but that only five of the Company survived, and returned to the Island of *Tarcera*, where being quite spent with Fatigue, they also died at the House of one *Christopher Columbus*; which probably inspired that adventurous Pilot with his first Notions of attempting the Discovery of the New World.

HOWEVER this might be, it is certain that *Christopher Columbus*, a Sea-faring Man of low Degree, and an Inhabitant at that time of the Island of *Tarcera*, had the Resolution to apply to the Court of *Portugal*, in order to be supported in his design'd Attempt to make some Western Discovery. But being wholly discouraged at that Court, he privately repaired into *Spain*, where in the Year 1484. he offer'd his Service to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, then King and Queen of *Castile*; who being at that time deeply engaged in the Conquest of *Granada* against the *Moors*, and their Finances very much exhausted, *Columbus* was obliged to attend several Years before he could effect his Purpose.

IN the mean time, and during his hitherto fruitless Attendance in *Spain*, viz. in the Year 1488. *Christopher Columbus* sent his Brother *Bartholomew* into *England*, to offer the like Service to *Henry* the VIIth then King of *England*, which he had before done at the Courts of *Lisbon* and

Castile ; but *Bartholomew* having been shipwreck'd in his Voyage to *England*, spent a considerable time in *London* before he found himself in a Condition, or had Assurance enough to make his Application at the *English* Court ; so that altho' King *Henry* very readily accepted his Offer as soon as it was made, yet before *Bartholomew* got back into *Spain*, his Brother *Christopher* was actually set out on his second Expedition, with seventeen Sail of Ships in the *Spanish* Service, and *Bartholomew* was sent after him to *Hispaniola* with three Sail more.

Christopher Columbus, who was a Man of an equal and constant Temper of Mind, not apt to be suddenly elated or dispirited, found means at last so to inspire Queen *Isabella* with the alluring Prospect and Hopes of the great Discoveries he could make by his proposed Adventure, that she consented to pawn Jewels to the Value of two thousand Ducats, in order to set him out ; accordingly, on the 19th Day of *April*, 1492. in the Camp before *Granada* then besieged, a particular Agreement was made and executed between King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, and the said *Christopher Columbus*, wherein among other Things it was stipulated, That the said *Christopher* should be invested with the Authority of Admiral at Sea, and Viceroy at Land, of all the Islands, Lands and Places, which he should happen to discover to the Westward, and that he, his Heirs and Successors, should enjoy one Tenth of all the Profits of such Discovery as he could make.

THIS done, *Columbus* set out on the 3d of *August*, in the same Year, with three Sail of Ships, and on the 11th of *October* he made Land, that proved to be a small Island which he called the *Deceada* ; from whence he proceeded still

still Westward, discovering daily one or other of the *Carribbee* Islands, until he came as far as the Island of *Cuba*; then returning to *Hispaniola*, he there debark'd and built a Fort, leaving in it thirty-eight of his Men, after which he set Sail for *Europe*, and on the 15th Day of *February* arrived at the Island of *St. Mary's*; but the *Portuguese* Governor attempting to seize them, they made their Escape, and were drove by Distress of Weather into *Lisbon*; where some Endeavours were used to incense the King of *Portugal* against *Columbus*, but he was at last permitted to depart for *Spain*.

THE Success which had attended *Columbus* in his first Voyage on the Discovery of this new Part of the World, gave the Court of *Spain* all imaginable Encouragement to support his indefatigable Industry in the Prosecution of so glorious a Design. Without any Loss of Time therefore, the very next Year, viz. in *December*, 1493. *Columbus* set out from *Spain* on his second Voyage, and running the same Course along by the *Deceada* through the *Carribbee* Islands, he arrived at *Hispaniola*, where he found all the People dead whom he had left there the Year before; yet no ways discouraged, but leaving all Things on that Island under the Direction and Care of his two Brothers, he proceeded himself with two Ships to make further Discovery of the Islands of *Jamaica* and *Cuba*, and finding at his Return that the Natives of *Hispaniola* were refractory, and had been very troublesome to his People there, he took all proper care for their future Security, and made what Haste he could to return, in order to render a faithful Account of his Proceedings, and to receive further Instructions from the Court of *Spain*.

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BUT before we proceed further with *Columbus*, it will be proper to take some Notice of other *American Discoveries*, which had been made as well before, as about the same Period of Time ; for it is sufficiently vouched, that about the Year, 1344. the Island of *Madeira* was accidentally discover'd by one *Macham* an *Englishman*, in his Passage from *Great-Britain* to *Spain* ; and between the Years 1395. and 1405. the *Canary* Islands were in like manner discover'd by the *Spaniards*.

ALSO, in the Year 1495. Letters Patents were granted by *Henry* the VIIth King of *England*, to *John Cabot* a Citizen of *Venice*, and to his Sons *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancius*, and to their Heirs for ever, to enjoy the Property of all Lands or Islands which should be discovered by any of them Westward, reserving only one Fifth of the clear Profit to the King, at their Return to *Europe*.

ACCORDINGLY in the Year 1496. the said *John Cabot* and his Son *Sebastian* sail'd from *Bristol*, and on the 24th of *June* in the Morning, he discover'd a Part of *Newfoundland* betwixt forty-five and forty-six Degrees of Northern Latitude, which he call'd *St. John's*. But it being his principal Design to find out a Passage Westward, to the *East-Indies*, or *Spice-Islands*, he proceeded as far as sixty Degrees North, and meeting with such vast Quantities of Ice in that Latitude, as that he could not with Safety penetrate any further, he directed his Course Southward along the Coast, until he reach'd thirty-eight Degrees and upwards on the *Florida* Shore, where his Provisions failing, he return'd to *England* ; but found the King so deeply engaged in a War with *Scotland*, that his Voyage and Discoveries were neglected ;

lected ; whereupon his Son *Sebastian Cabot*, an expert Mariner, went over to *Spain*, and was employed by that Crown in many successful Voyages towards the Coast of *Brazil*, and other Parts of the Southern Continent ; for which Services he obtain'd the Office of Pilot-major to the Emperor then reigning in *Spain*, which he enjoyed to the Time of his Death in an advanced old Age.

IT seems to be acknowledg'd by all who have written on the Discovery of *America*, that the same *Cabot* was the first Man who had touch'd on any Part of the Continent, from the Land of *Florida* Northward ; and he being at that time an *English* Subject, employed at the Expence and under the Direction of the Crown of *England*, it evidently confirms the unquestionable Right, which that Nation is possess'd of, to all the Provinces and other Settlements they either have made already, or may hereafter make on such Parts of the said Northern Continent of *America*, as have not been previously occupied by other Christian People. And it was, doubtless, in consideration of this signal and important Service perform'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, that he afterwards obtain'd from King *Edward* the VIth of *England*, a yearly Pension of One hundred and sixty Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence Sterling during his Life, as appears by Letters Patents, dated at *Westminster* January 6th, in the Year of our Lord 1548.

IN the Year 1497. *Columbus* made his third Voyage to *America*, and the first Land he fell in with was the Island of *Trinidad*, from thence entering into the Gulph of *Paria*, he came out at the *Dragon's Mouth*, and sail'd along the Coast of *Curraccoes* two hundred Leagues ; then cross'd over to his first Settlement on *Hispaniola*.

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IN the Year 1502. *Columbus* made his fourth and last Voyage to *America*, at which time he went from *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica*, over to Cape *Honduras*, and from thence along the Coast to Cape *Gracias a Dias*. It was then he first discover'd the Province of *Veragua* on the Continent, and *Rio Grande*, pursuing his Course to the River *Crocodales*, and from thence to the *Bastimento's*, *Porto Bello*, and *Nombre de Dios*, as far as Cape *Marble*; then he return'd to the Island of *Cuba*; and in a short time afterwards came back to *Spain*, where in the Year 1506. he died, and was succeeded by his Son *Diego Columbus*, who went over with his own and a great many other Families of Condition in the Year 1509. to people *Hispaniola*, which then became a large and famous Settlement; he also gave the proper Orders at that time for settling the Island of *Cuba*.

IN the Year 1508. by two Expeditions from *Hispaniola* under the several Commands of *Alphonso Hoida*, and *Diego de Niquefa*, the Province of *Veragua* was invaded, and many Forts were built and Towns settled on the main Land, all along from *Carthagena* to the *Isthmus* of *Darien*.

IN the Year 1513. *Vasco Nunnes de Balboa* went from *Darien* with two hundred and ninety Men, and discover'd the South-sea, from whence he brought great Wealth, &c. and the Year following he was appointed Governor on all that Coast.

IN the Year 1519. *Fernando Cortes* sail'd from *Cuba* with eleven Ships and five hundred and five Men, to that Part of the Continent called *New Spain*; and in the Year 1523. he
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sent *Peter d'Alveredo* to the Coast of the South-sea, who built the Towns of *St. Jago* and *Seguro*.

MUCH about the same time *Ferdinando Megellanes*, a *Portuguese* by Birth, being disobliged at the Court of *Portugal*, offer'd his Service to *Spain*; and on the 10th of *August*, 1519. set out with five Sail of Ships to find a Passage by the Western Ocean unto the *Molucca's* or Spice-Islands then claimed by the *Portuguese*, and this *Megellanes* having found a safe Passage to the South-sea, through those Streights which have ever since taken his Name, he continued his Voyage Westward; and tho' he was killed himself by a poison'd Arrow, yet his Company went on their Course round the Globe, and *John Sebastian Cano*, Commander, brought home the principal Ship *Victoria* to the Harbour of *San Lucas*, on the 7th Day of *September*, 1522. and was bountifully rewarded by the Emperor.

IN the Year 1525. *Sebastian Cabot*, chief Pilot to the Emperor, went from *Seville* with four Ships, and sail'd up the River of *Plate* 200 Leagues, where he built a Fort, stay'd a considerable time, and return'd to *Seville* in the Year 1530.

IN the Year 1524. *John de Verezano* a *Florentine*, sent out on Discovery, by *Francis I.* King of *France*, made the Continent of *America* towards the Latitude of thirty Degrees North, and sail'd along the Coast North-east as far as fifty Degrees; he went ashore and discoursed with the Natives in several Places, then returned to *France*.

ON the 20th of *May*, 1527. two Ships well equipp'd, one whereof was call'd the *Dominus Vobiscum*, were sent by Or-

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der of *Henry* the VIIIth, King of *England*, on Western Discoveries ; but one of the Ships being cast away in the Entry to the Gulph or River of *St. Laurence*, the other remain'd some time about *Cape Briton* ; and after they had landed in several Places to view and take Possession of the Country, they return'd about the Beginning of *October* in the same Year.

IN the Year 1534. a *Frenchman*, whose Name was *Jaques Cartier*, with three Ships, went up the River *St. Laurence*, to fifty-one Degrees North. He made a second Voyage thither, sailing Westward a great way further, and called the Country *New France*.

IN the Year 1535. *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, with twelve Ships, went on an Expedition up the River of *Plate* ; and tho' he himself died in the Passage homeward, yet the People he left behind him built a large Town ; and incorporating with the *Indians*, they discover'd and conquer'd the Country, until they came to the Mines of *Potosi*, and to the Town *la Plata*, which was five hundred Leagues distant from their first Settlement.

TOWARDS the latter End of *April*, in the Year 1536. Mr. *Hoare* of *London*, together with about thirty Gentlemen and others, being encouraged by *Henry* the VIIIth, King of *England*, sailed out in two Ships, viz. the *Trinity* and the *Union*, on Discovery in the North-west Part of *America* ; and in two Months they arrived at the Height of *Cape Briton*, and proceeded to the Island of *Penguin* ; from whence they went to *Newfoundland*, where they suffer'd great Hardships for want of Provisions, and return'd to *St. Ives* in *Cornwal*, about the latter End of *October*. Probably

bably it was soon afterwards that the Fishing-Trade from *England* commenc'd on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, because we find that in the second Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the VIth, of *England*, viz. in the Year of God 1548. an Act of Parliament was pass'd to take off all manner of Duties, and other Incumbrances, on the Merchants using that Trade.

IN the Year 1537. *John de Vadillo*, Governor of *Carthagena*, went with an Army from *St. Sebastian de bona Vista* to *Rio Verde*, and from thence twelve hundred Leagues across the Kingdom of *Peru* to the Town *la Plata*.

IN the Years 1538. and 1539. the Marquis *Francis Pizarro* sent *Peter de Valdivia* to conquer the Country of *Chili*, which lies West from the *Brazil*, the Distance between *St. Augustine* on the North-Sea, and *Truxillo* on the South, being about eighteen hundred Leagues.

IN the Year 1540. the valiant, but cruel *Fernando Cortes* return'd to *Spain*, where in about seven Years after he died.

AMERICA was by so many different Expeditions not only sufficiently discover'd at this time, to put the Reality of such a vast Continent of Land out of all Doubt ; but the *Spanish* Nation was continually drawing from thence every Year, such immense Riches in Gold, Silver and Jewels, that it made so great and sudden an Increase of that most necessary Medium for all manner of Intercourse by Trade, as to draw the *European* Nations, and especially those whose Situation was convenient for Navigation, into various Projects in order to traffick, make Settlements, or plant Colonies, in

that new and surprizing Part of the World: For altho' *Spain*, by an imaginary Title or Gift from the Pope, had laid formal Claim to the Whole, yet every other Nation that pleased, took the Liberty to occupy and possess, in their own Right, such vacant and uninhabited Lands in *America*, as they happen'd from time to time to discover by their own Industry, and at their own proper Expence, establishing their respective Titles on Conquest in a lawful War, Treaty, Purchase, or some kind of amicable Agreement with the Natives, which, to do the *English* Nation Justice, has been the only Foundation of their equitable and solid Claim to all the Possessions which they hold at this time in *America*.

BUT as our Design in this Place is not to give a regular History of *America*, but only to inquire how and by whom it was at first discover'd, and what remarkable Expeditions had been made thither from *Europe* before the Settlement of any of the *British* Plantations; we shall proceed without taking any particular notice of many lesser Events which daily happen'd, and innumerable Voyages that were yearly made to those Parts, before that Period of Time which is propos'd for the Commencement of this History.

ON the 16th of *April* 1542. *John Francis de la Rache*, Lord of *Roberval*, sail'd with three large Ships, and two hundred Persons, Men and Women, from *Rockell*, with full Powers from the King of *France* to settle the Country of *Canada* on the great River *St. Laurence*, discover'd, as above, by *Jaques Cartier*; where he settled Towns, built Forts, and remain'd himself in the Country almost eighteen Months.

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ON the 18th of *February*, 1562. Captain *John Ribault* was sent out from *France*, attended by two of the King's Ships, with a great many People, and every thing requisite to make some Settlement on the Continent of *America*; and in two Months time they arrived on the Coast of *Florida*; and, sailing Northward, they first landed in the Mouth of the River *May*; and pursuing that Coast in quest of a good Harbour, they came into *Port-Royal*, where they built a small Fortification, and called it *Charles-Fort*, leaving in it twenty-six of their best Men under the Command of Capt. *Albert*, who all along kept up a friendly Correspondence with the Natives: But Capt. *Ribault*, on his Return to *France*, found the Civil War begun, and Things in such Confusion, that this Settlement was neglected; and after those that were left in *Charles-Fort* had mutiny'd, and killed their Captain *Albert*, the Place was deserted by those few that remain'd alive. No sooner, however, was Peace restored to *France*, but the Admiral *Chatillon* moved the King to attempt some further Discoveries on the Coast of *America*; and accordingly, on the 22d of *April*, 1564. Mr. *Rene Laudoniere* took his Course with three Ships well provided for such an Expedition. On the 22d of *June* they arrived on the Coast of *Florida*, and forthwith erected a Fort in the Entrance of the River *May*, where they remain'd under Mr. *Laudoniere's* Government until the 28th of *August*, 1565. that Capt. *John Ribault* arrived a second time from *France*, with the King's Commission to supersede Mr. *Laudoniere*; but before Things could be well settled betwixt the old and the new Governor, six large *Spanish* Ships came into the Road, which had been fitted out from *Spain* with a Design to attack and destroy the *French* in that Settlement. Some of the largest of the *French* Ships, slipping their Anchors

chors in the Night, made off to Sea; whither the *Spaniards* followed, and gave them Chace; yet not being able to come up with them, the *Spaniards* return'd to the Coast, and landed their People in the River *Dolphines*, about ten Leagues Distance. The *French* Ships, having thus clear'd themselves for the present of their Enemies, they likewise return'd to their own People, on the River *May*; and the new Governor *Ribault*, full of Spirit, having got Intelligence where the *Spaniards* were, forthwith embark'd with the Flower of all his Men, and sail'd to attack them, but a sudden Storm arising, his Fleet was soon dispersed, and the whole Equipage lost.

MR. *Laudoniere* thus left destitute in the Fort, with a few weak Hands, not able to make any considerable Defence, the *Spaniards* marched to attack them under the Command of *Don Pedro de Melendes*; and on the 20th of *Sept.* they took the Fort; Mr. *Laudoniere* escaping narrowly with a few of his People on board two small Ships in the Road, he return'd to *France* by Way of *England*; but those that remain'd were all put to the Sword, except fifteen that were hang'd by the *Spaniards*; who after having repaired the Fort, and made considerable Additions to the Strength of the Place, continued in Possession until the latter End of the Year 1567. about which time one Captain *Gourgues*, a brave *Frenchman*, incited by a strong Desire to revenge the cruel and barbarous Treatment which his Countrymen had met with, sold the best Part of his Estate near *Bordeaux*, and borrow'd Money sufficient to equip three Sail of Ships, with one hundred and fifty Soldiers and eighty Seamen, with which he landed on the *Florida* Shore, about fifteen Leagues Distance from the Fort in the River *May*, at that time possess'd by three hundred

hundred *Spaniards* ; and after he had taken the Precaution to renew all former Treaties of Friendship betwixt the neighbouring *Indians* and the *French*, he marched directly to the old Fort without being discover'd by any of the *Spanish* Garison ; and by the vigorous Assistance to the Natives, he surpris'd the *Spaniards*, putting them all the Sword, except fifteen, whom he hanged in the same manner they had done to the like Number of his Countrymen, after which he razed all the Fortifications to the Ground, and return'd with his People to *France*.

MR. *Hawkins*, afterwards Sir *John Hawkins*, set out from *England* in the Month of *October*, 1562. with three Sail of Ships, well mann'd, on a trading Voyage to the Coast of *Guiney*, and from thence to the *West-Indies* with Slaves ; by which he had great Profit, and return'd safe to *England* in the Month of *September*, 1563.

HE made a second Voyage of the same kind with equal Success, having sail'd from *Plymouth* on the 18th Day of *October*, in the Year 1564. in the Ship *Jesus* of *Lubeck*, Burthen seven hundred Tons, and three Sail more with one hundred and seventy Men ; and returning home by the Gulph of *Florida*, he touch'd at the *French* Settlement in the River *May*, and generously supply'd Mr. *Laudoniere*, the *French* Governor, then in great Distress, with many Necessaries.

THE innumerable Expeditions and Voyages, which after this were yearly made to the *East* and *West-Indies*, and round the Globe, by most of the *European* Nations, but chiefly by the *Maritime* Powers, gave a new Turn to every Branch of Trade, and not only introduced a Variety of
Dealing

Dealing in many Sorts of Commodities, and rich Merchandize, never before known to the *Europeans*; but also multiplied the Exchanges, and enlarged the Views of the Merchant every-where; who, by the Help of such vast Quantities of Bullion, imported continually to all Parts from *America*, was enabled to give what Dispatch he pleased to all manner of Business, and with some Profit to rid himself of every perishable Commodity, almost as soon as it came into his Hands.

THIS uncommon Spirit for Trade, and the new Channels it had discovered, gave occasion daily for great Improvements to be made in the Arts of Ship-building and Navigation; so that the Naval Strength of the *Maritime* States in their Number of Ships and Mariners, was all of a sudden prodigiously increased; and to have them continually and profitably employed, was the first and greatest Policy of every State, to which all other Considerations gave place. But as there were none who apply'd themselves so steadily and successfully in the Pursuit of this Maxim, as the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, and particularly the States of *Holland*, they soon became formidable at Sea; and their laborious Subjects contenting themselves with small Profit on a quick Return in every Exchange, they neglected no Kind of Trade that lay in their way; and by that means were able to govern the Markets, almost every-where, as well as to become the Navigators and Carriers for other People.

THE immense Profit arising to Particulars, as well as Strength and Riches to the State, by the Extent of the Herring, Cod, and Whale-Fisheries, annually carried on by the *Dutch*, are incontestable Proofs of the superior Genius which governs

governs all the mercantile Affairs of that Commonwealth ; and such Industry at home is so far from interfering with, or interrupting any valuable Branch of Foreign Commerce, that it greatly forwards it, by the Multitude of Shipping and Seamen it creates, which renders Navigation cheap and more easy to the Merchant, as is manifest from the vast Bulk both of *East-India* and *West-India* Trade, at this time possess'd by the *Hollanders*, and which sufficiently makes up to them the want of so large a Quantity of Home Product, as is to be found in *Great-Britain*, and other trading Countries.

THE Memoirs which pass under the Name of that incomparable Genius, and great Statesman, Mr. *John de Wit*, contain a most valuable Collection of elegant Observations on Trade and Government, and take notice of the many and great Advantages which must in Time accrue to *Great-Britain* from its populous and large Settlements on the Continent of *America* ; wherein, no doubt, the Author had a View to an easy Vent for the Product and Manufactures of *Britain*, when the Market elsewhere would perhaps be cramp'd, and *British* Industry equalled, if not outdone, by the Rivalship of other *European* Nations, in the same Kind of Improvements ; for that is the true Light in which the *British* Colonies should be placed with respect to the Mother-state. And from this View of them we can never be at a loss to judge of, and determine in, all Cases wherein the true Interest of *Great-Britain*, and that of its *American* Plantations may seem to differ, as well as to settle their respective Advantages and Intercourses in Trade with one another, on the most profitable and best Foundation.

THERE is such an infinite Variety in the Course of an extended Commerce, that it is impossible for human Wit
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equally to guard all the Channels through which it may run. Where the Bulk of any Trade therefore terminates in an apparent publick Advantage to the State, it will be good Policy in that Government rather to neglect the little partial Profits, which Particulars may on some Occasions obtain, than by endeavouring at too great a Nicety in settling Matters on a more equal Foot, to cramp the Trade in general with such Duties, and severe Restrictions, as must discourage the Merchant by giving other Nations an Advantage in the Foreign Market.

To support Navigation, and to provide a continual and sufficient Supply of Materials for carrying on a general Commerce to and from all Parts of the World, make Colonies in *America* equally useful and necessary to every Maritime State. But they are of a further and special Advantage to *Great-Britain*, by securing a certain and constant Vent to the Home Product and Manufactures of that Country, independent of the Conduct and Practice of other Nations.

As the Value of every Thing we desire to possess must be compared from the Use and Conveniency of it, in comfortably preserving and prolonging human Life, there is no intrinsic Worth or Estimation can be put on Gold and Silver, further than that, by universal Consent, those solid and permanent Metals, are become the Medium of all Kinds of Exchange, and the only unalterable Measure, whereby we rate the present Value of any other Thing: They are not therefore to be considered in themselves as a Merchandise, but only as the Means of procuring in Trade whatsoever the Variety of our Wants and Inclinations may require. For although *Spain*, by possessing the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, may be said to be richer in that respect
than

than any other Nation ; yet as those Riches consist only in holding a greater Share of that necessary Medium for carrying on a profitable Exchange in Trade, it loses considerably of its Value for want of being employed in that way ; and tho' it may furnish the *Spaniards* with all the Product of other Mens Labour, which the most exquisite Luxury can desire, in the main it destroys Industry, by encouraging Sloth and Indolence, which inevitably must introduce both a Neglect and Contempt of the Arts and Sciences ; whereas an industrious Commonwealth, who keeps her Subjects employed in Manufactures, and Foreign Trade, by continually furnishing *Spain* with such Things as there is a constant Demand for, to supply that People's Conveniency, and feed their Pleasures, must needs in Return command as great a Share of *Spanish* Bullion as they want ; so that in fact the *Spanish* Riches consist in digging up Gold and Silver out of the Earth for other People, whose superior Skill and Industry, in applying it to its proper Use, absolutely determines the Value of that Kind of Wealth ; which, if it be not kept in continual Motion and employed in Trade, never fails to enervate the Owners, and render them unfit for relishing the superior and most rational Enjoyments of human Society.

THERE is not any Thing which more distinctly shews the different Genius of the *European* Nations, than the Manner of their planting Colonies, and raising Settlements in *America*.

SPAIN, which not many Years ago, held the first Rank amongst the warlike Nations, and under the Dominion of that great Emperor *Charles* the Vth, threatned all *Europe* with its Power, was no sooner possess'd of that immensely rich Empire in *America*, but such a sudden and unexpected

Increase of Wealth, without much Trouble or Pains in the Acquisition, so intoxicated a People, naturally proud and haughty, and at the same time gave the covetous and ambitious Clergy so fair an Opportunity to blow them up with an immoderate Zeal for Religion, that the first Care in every new *Spanish* Settlement, was to erect a magnificent Building for a Cathedral or Church, which was endow'd with great Power, and a plentiful Revenue, preferable to all other Exigencies and Wants of the Colony.

WHEN any *English* Plantation in *America* came to be settled, the first Application was to maintain Liberty and Property, by providing for an open, fair, and equal Distribution of Justice, without any Respect of Persons, leaving every Man to use an honest Industry in supporting himself after what manner he pleased.

BUT the *French*, agreeable to their natural Disposition for War, always began with some Entrenchments or Fortification for the Defence of the Place, as well as to maintain the Governor's arbitrary Power ; and other Nations for the most part followed that Example, all of them still endeavouring to imitate, as near as possible, that Form and Constitution of Government, which at that time prevailed in the Mother-state, to whose Orders and Instructions the respective Colonies were always kept in due Subjection ; by which Means many of the *American* Plantations soon became of singular Advantage to those States in *Europe* to which they belonged ; and even to this very Day, where we have occasion to observe, that any of the Colonies in *America* are neglected, and fallen into Decay, it is a sure Indication, that the original Mother-state either wants sufficient Power to maintain its Rank amongst the other Kingdoms

doms of the World, or that it labours at the time under a weak Administration of Government.

As long as Trade is understood to be not only an Advantage to a State, but likewise the natural and chief Fountain of all the Riches and Strength which is necessary to maintain an independent and good Government, the making, preserving and improving proper Settlements in *America*, will be found of very great Importance to any Maritime Power in *Europe*. And the finding out, as well as directing and encouraging proper Objects, on which to employ the Labour and Industry of the Planters in those Settlements, will be consider'd amongst the principal Affairs of the State, and to which the particular Concerns of any Company or Corporation for private Advantage, ought to give place ; for a lesser Public Good must yield to the greater, and it will ever be found of more Moment, to maintain a greater than a lesser Number of Subjects, well employed to the Advantage of the Commonwealth.

THUS, having made Inquiry into the first Discovery of *America*, and observed on some of the principal Motives which induced the *European* Nations to plant Colonies, and make Settlements in that Part of the World ; we shall now proceed to enter on the main Design propos'd in the Third and Last Place, namely, to give a History of the *British* Plantations in their natural Order of Time, with suitable Remarks on their Trade and Government.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
VIRGINIA, &c.

ABOUT the Middle of the Reign of that great Princess, *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, viz. in the Year 1584. Letters Patents were granted to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others in Company, for discovering new Lands in *America*, not hitherto possess'd by any *Christians*. In Pursuance of which Grant, two small Ships were fitted out by the Patentees; the one commanded by Capt. *Philip Amidus*, the other by Capt. *Barlow*; and, on the 27th of *April* in the same Year, they sail'd from the *Thames*, taking their Course by the *Canary-Islands*, towards the *West-Indies*; and that being in those Days the best-known and most frequented Rout to *America*, they pass'd by the *Caribbee-Islands*, in the Beginning of *June*, and made the Coast of *Florida* on the 2d of *July*; sailing along Shore about one hundred and twenty Miles, before they could find a convenient Harbour. At last they debarked on a very low Land, which proved to be a small Island called *Wokokon*;

Wokokon; and after taking formal Possession of the Country, in the Name of the Queen of *England*, they carried on a friendly Correspondence with the Native *Indians*, who furnished them with great Variety of Fish and Venison for Provision, and gave them Furs and Deer-skins in Exchange for Trifles. Thus encouraged by the Natives, eight of the Company, in a Boat, went up the River *Occam* twenty Miles; and next Day in the Evening they came to an Island called *Roanoak*, which was about seven Leagues from the Place where their Ships lay. Here they found the Residence of the *Indian Chief*, whose Name was *Grangananeo*; his House consisted of nine Apartments, built of Cedar, and fortified around with sharp Pieces of Timber; his Wife came out to them, and ordered her People to carry them from the Boat on their Backs, and did many other civil Things, to express her friendly Intention of making them heartily welcome, in the Absence of her Husband. They continued this Intercourse with the Natives for some time, still viewing the Situation of the adjacent Country; and after having obtain'd the best Information they could, of the Number and Strength of the *Indian Nations* in that Neighbourhood, and of their Fewds and Alliances one with another, they return'd to *England* about the Middle of *September*, and made such an agreeable Report of the Fertility of the Soil, and the Healthiness of the Climate, that the Queen, from thence forward, seem'd to favour the Patentees Design of settling a Colony in that Country, to which her Majesty was pleased to give the Name of *Virginia*.

The History of VIRGINIA.

THE principal Undertakers in this Voyage were,

Philip Amidus, }
Arthur Barlow, } Captains.

William Greenville, }
John Wood, }
James Browick, } of the Company.
Henry Green, }
Benjamin Wood, }
Simon Ferdinando, }
Nicholas Peryman, }
John Hawes, }

SIR *Walter Raleigh* was so intent on the planting of this new Colony, that the Year following an Equipage was provided of seven Sail of Ships, who, under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenville*, General, sailed on the 9th of *April*, 1585. from *Plymouth*; and pursuing the same Course, as had been taken the preceding Year, they arrived and came to an Anchor at *Wokokon*, on the 26th of *May*, and forthwith sent their Compliments to the *Indians* at *Roanoak*: Then the General, taking one Week's Provision along with him, and a select Company, made a Progress to the main Land, and visited many *Indian* Towns; but unhappily, at one of them, the *Indians* having stolen a Silver Cup, the *English* were so indiscreet in their Revenge, as to burn the Town, and destroy the Corn-fields; an ill Prefage of those Misfortunes which ensued.

THE General returning to his Fleet at *Wokokon*, thought fit to weigh his Anchors, and remove from thence to *Hattarufs*; where having rested a little, some of the *Indian* Chiefs were entertain'd on board the Admiral; and about

about the Beginning of *August*, the General himself return'd to *England*, and arrived at *Plymouth* the 18th of *September*, having left behind him an hundred and eight Persons to settle a Colony at *Roanoak*; amongst whom were the following Gentlemen, under the Command of Mr. *Ralph Lane*, viz.

<i>Philip Amidas</i> , Admiral.	Mr. <i>Rogers</i> ,
Mr. <i>Thomas Harriot</i> .	Mr. <i>Harry</i> .
Mr. <i>Acton</i> .	Mr. <i>Snelling</i> .
Mr. <i>Stafford</i> .	Mr. <i>Anthony Russe</i> .
Mr. <i>Thomas Luddington</i> .	Mr. <i>Allen</i> .
Mr. <i>Marwyn</i> .	Mr. <i>Michael Pollifon</i> .
Capt. <i>Vaughan</i> .	Mr. <i>Thomas Buckner</i> .
Mr. <i>Kendall</i> .	Mr. <i>James Mason</i> .
Mr. <i>Gardiner</i> .	Mr. <i>David Salter</i> .
Mr. <i>Prideaux</i> .	Mr. <i>James Skinner</i> .

THE Compass of their Discovery towards the South reached no further than *Secotan*, which is about eighty Leagues from *Roanoak*. They went Northwards, about one hundred and thirty Miles, to a Town on *Cheasapeak*; and about the same Distance to the North-west, as far as *Chowonock*.

THE Natives, whether to amuse, or found the Inclinations of these Strangers, had so filled their Heads with romantic Accounts of a numerous warlike Nation of *Indians*, and a great King, some Days Journey from the Head of the River *Moratock*, where great Plenty of Pearls was to be found, as also large Quantities of Copper and other Metals, that Mr. *Lane* and all his Company became intent on this Discovery; and too easily confiding in their pretended

Friend *Wingino*, who on the Death of his Brother *Grangameo*, had changed his Name to *Pennisappan* ; they were over-persuaded to go on an Expedition to visit the *Moratocks*, and the great Nation called the *Mangoacks*, when at the same time the treacherous *Pennisappan* had privately sent those *Indians* Notice, that the *English* were coming to invade them ; whereupon they all fled up into the high Country, so that instead of that Friendship and Plenty which the *English* were encouraged to expect, they found themselves one hundred and sixty Miles from Home, with only two Days Provision ; hereupon Mr. *Lane* called a Council to advise what was fit to be done, for that he believed the Savages had some treacherous Design in View : But the whole Company, except three, were resolute to proceed at any Rate, and to see those *Indians* called *Mangoacks*, either as Friends or Foes.

MENATONON the King of the *Chowonocks*, who was lame, but an artful cunning Fellow, and superior in Sagacity to all the rest, told Mr. *Lane*, That he would furnish them with Guides to the *Mangoacks*, or this Metal-Country, which tho' but one Day's Journey by Land, was seven by Water ; and such was their over-covetous Desire to find out, and make some Trial of the Metal, that they proceeded under all these Hardships with great Chearfulness ; but after two Days Journey and their Victuals all spent, they heard a Voice from the Shore call *Manteo*, who was a serviceable and friendly *Indian*, that always attended them. *Manteo* return'd a civil Answer, which they on Shore reply'd to with a Song ; that the *English* took for a friendly Welcome, until *Manteo* told them it was a sure Sign that the *Indians* meant to fight ; and immediately they let fly a Shower of Arrows at Mr. *Lane*'s Boat, which happening
to

to do no harm, he presently landed with his People, while the other Boat scoured the Shore. The *Indians* however being all fled, and no-where to be found, the next Morning they agreed to return to the Mouth of the River, which had cost them four Days Labour to row up; here they were reduced to feed on two Mastiff-Dogs, which they had boil'd with Sassafrax Leaves into Broth, and to fast all the next Day, being Wind-bound; the Day following they came to an *Indian* Town, where the Women supply'd them with a little fresh Fish, and the Day afterwards they return'd to their Settlement at *Roanoak*.

ENSENORE, an old Man, and the Father of *Pennissappan*, had been all along a great Friend to the *English*, from a firm Belief that the invisible supreme Being, whom they called the God of the *English*, always assisted them against their Enemies, and took care of all their Concerns; for which Reason he often prevailed with his Son *Pennissappan*, not only to desist from his Intrigues against them, but even to do them many Acts of Kindness: Nevertheless whilst the *English* were at a Distance on their last Expedition to the *Mangoacks*, a Rumour was industriously spread at *Roanoak*, that most of them were slain, and that the rest perish'd in the Woods; which gave *Pennissappan* a favourable Opportunity to persuade his Father *Ensenore*, that these were a wicked People, whom their God had forsaken, and left them to be destroyed; upon this the old Man quite alter'd his way of thinking, and join'd with his Son in his Designs to do them all the Mischief he could. But afterwards when they saw the *English* return in Health, and heard *Manteo's* Relation of the Advantages which they had every-where over the *Indians*, they alter'd their Tone; and *Ensenore* once more prevail'd with *Pennissappan*, to

think and act as formerly ; for such was the Renown and Credit of the *English*, at that time, amongst all the *Indians*, that in a few Days after Mr. *Lane* and his People came back to *Roanoak*, *Menatonon* sent his Ambassadors with Presents of Pearl, and along with them *Okisko* King of the *Woopomeoks*, came voluntarily to submit himself, and all his People, as Tributaries to the Queen of *England* ; and when *Okisko* with twenty-four of his principal Men, had acquainted *Pennissappan* with their Purpose, and fully declared their Resolution to execute it at that time, it so changed the Heart of *Pennissappan*, that at his Father's Request, when the *English* were almost starved for Want of Provisions, he commanded his People to make Wires for them to catch Fish, and to replant those Corn-Fields which they had before resolved to abandon.

UNHAPPILY about this time, towards the latter End of *April*, old *Ensenore* died ; on which Event *Pennissappan* immediately renew'd his former Machinations and ill Designs against the *English* ; and under the Pretence of solemnizing *Ensenore's* Funeral, he had engaged *Okisko*, the Tributary King, to get seven or eight hundred Men together, and the *Mandoages* and the *Cheasepeaks* were to bring as many more ; but half of them were to lie in Ambuscade in order to cut off Stragglers, while the other half came forth, and appeared on a Signal to be given by Fire ; and twenty of *Pennissappan's* best Men were ordered to beset Mr. *Lane's* House in the Night-time, and to put Fire to the Reeds that covered it ; and the like was to be done at the same time to Mr. *Harriot's*, and others, in order to give the *Indians* better Opportunity to knock all the principal Men on the Head, as they ran out naked to escape the Fire. In the mean time the Savages had concerted among themselves,

selves, not to sell any Thing to the *English*, and to spoil and destroy the Fishing-Wires in the Night-time, by which means Necessity of Food would force them to disperse; and indeed they were so miserably pinched with Want at this time, that Mr. *Lane* was obliged to send Captain *Stafford* to *Croaton*, with twenty Men to seek Subsistence for themselves, and look out for Ships passing along the Coast; he likewise sent Mr. *Prideaux*, to *Hattarass*, on the same Account; and some other small Parties were dispatched to the Main, to live on Roots and Oysters, or what else they could find.

PENNISSAPPAN all this while absconded, lest he should be importuned for Provisions, as also with the greater Security to concert his Schemes and wicked Purposes: however the *Chowonefts*, a powerful, but more faithful People, were not so forward to come into his Measures as he expected; for they shew'd great Aversion to the false and malicious Reports, which *Pennissappan* had caused to be raised against the *English*; and this gave Mr. *Lane* the Opportunity and Means of discovering all their Plots to destroy the Settlement. Hereupon Mr. *Lane* sent to acquaint *Pennissappan*, that he was going to *Croaton* to meet a Fleet that was just then arrived, desiring he would send some of his People to fish and hunt. The *Indian* return'd Answer, that he would come himself to *Roanoak*; but as he delay'd above a Week, endeavouring to get his Men together, Mr. *Lane* judg'd it the safest Way to prevent him; for which Purpose he immediately sent out some of his People to destroy all the Canoes they could find about the Island; and the first they met with being overset, they slew the two *Indians* that were in it, and cut off their Heads. The Alarm thus given on all hands, the *Indians* flew to their Bows,
and

and the *English* to their Arms ; a few of the Natives were immediately killed, but all the rest fled into the Woods : Next Morning Mr. *Lane* sent to tell *Pennissappan*, that as he was going to *Croaton* he intended to call on him in his Way, in order to discourse Matters with him ; the *Indian* did not chuse to remove, but stay'd for the coming of the *English* ; and Mr. *Lane* finding him surrounded by some of his chief Men, immediately gave the Word to attack them : *Pennissappan* himself was shot with a Pistol, and dropp'd down for dead ; but presently getting up, he run away, and would have escaped, had not an *Irish* Boy shot him again in the Buttocks ; whereupon they took him, and cut off his Head.

ABOUT a Week after this Action, Captain *Stafford* sent a Messenger to acquaint Mr. *Lane*, that twenty-three Sail of Ships were in Sight on the Coast ; and next Day the Captain himself brought a Letter from Sir *Francis Drake*, to Mr. *Lane*, offering all Manner of Assistance to forward the Settlement. Accordingly a Ship of seventy Tons with one hundred Men, and four Months Provisions, together with two Pinnaces, and four small Boats, with every other Thing suitable, was immediately prepared to attend the Service of the Colony, under Mr. *Lane's* Direction : But a sudden Storm which lasted four Days, and threatned the whole Fleet with Shipwreck on that Coast, forced some of them out to Sea ; and particularly that Ship with all the Provisions, design'd for the Colony's Use : Notwithstanding this unhappy Accident, Sir *Francis* was so generous, to appoint another Ship of one hundred and seventy Tons, with every Thing needful, as before, to attend on Mr. *Lane*, in order to bring him home to *England*, after he had finished his Discoveries, or as soon as he thought fit ; but all the Company

pany on Shore being acquainted herewith, and consulted on the Occasion, it was their unanimous Request, that in Regard of the Miseries which they had suffer'd, and the small Prospect they had of Sir *Richard Greenville's* Return, they might all be permitted to go home in the Fleet with Sir *Francis Drake*; which being agreed to, they embarked, and arrived at *Portsmouth* the 7th of *July*, 1586.

LATE in the Spring of the same Year 1586. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Company, sent one Ship of an hundred Tons, well provided with all Things needful to succour the Colony of *Virginia*: But not arriving before the People had left the Country, as above, this Ship return'd with all her Loading, to *England*; and about fifteen Days after Sir *Richard Greenville* arrived with three Ships, to relieve those People he had left there, in the Year 1585. But neither finding them, nor the last-mention'd Ship, as he expected, and observing that all their former Habitations were quite abandoned, Sir *Richard*, unwilling to lose the Possession of so good a Country, landed fifty of his Men on the Island of *Roanoak*, leaving them a plentiful Stock of Provision for two Years, and then return'd himself to *England*, with the rest of his People.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1587. Mr. *John White* was sent, by the Company, Governor to the Colony of *Virginia*, with three Sail of Ships, and on the 22d of *July* they arrived at *Hattaras*; the Governor forthwith dispatched a strong Party to *Roanoak*, expecting to find the fifty Men, left there by Sir *Richard Greenville* the Year before; but the Fort was intirely defaced, and all the Houses standing empty and overgrown with Weeds; finding no Vestige of People, except the Bones of one Man, they set about repairing

pairing the old Buildings ; and while they were at Work, Mr. *George Howe* a Member of the Council, headlessly straggling abroad, was killed by the *Indians*. Hereupon *Manteo*, the trusty *Indian*, whose Relations dwelt at *Croaton*, was sent thither with Captain *Stafford* and twenty Men. At first, the Natives seem'd inclineable to fight, but as soon as they heard *Manteo's* Voice, they laid down their Arms, and became Friends, desiring the *English* would give them a Token to be known by, lest hereafter they might be treated as Enemies by Mistake, as it had once happen'd in their Friend Governor *Lane's* Time : Next Day a Conference was held, and the *Indians* undertook to go to the People of *Secotan*, *Aquasgacoch*, and *Peomeik*, to renew the old Friendship between them, and the *English* ; and in seven Days time they promised to bring their Kings and great Men, to confirm the same at *Roanoak* ; amongst other Things at that Conference, they told Captain *Stafford*, that Mr. *Howe* was killed by Men who belong'd to *Wingino*, *Dassamonpeak*, and *Roanoak* ; and that the fifty Men left by Sir *Richard Greenville*, had been treacherously surpris'd by three hundred *Indians* from *Secotan*, *Aquasgagoe*, and *Dassamonpeak*, who had set Fire to their Dwellings, killed some, and forced the rest to fly in their Boat towards *Hattarafs* ; where they remained a short Time on a small Island, and then departed they knew not whither.

THE seven Days being expired, without any News of the *Indians* with the Chiefs they had promised to bring to *Roanoak*, and the Governor having received particular Information from the *Croatons*, that Mr. *Howe's* Death was chiefly occasion'd by the *Indians* of *Dassamonpeak* ; who were also principally concern'd in driving the *English* from *Roanoak*, he determin'd forthwith to take a proper Revenge
of

of those People ; and accordingly with Captain *Stafford*, and twenty-four Men, of which *Manteo* was one, he set out on this Expedition : Next Morning by Break of Day they landed, and got beyond the *Indian* Houses, and assaulted them as they were sitting round the Fire ; the miserable Creatures fled amongst the Reeds, where one of them was shot through ; but the Fury of the Assailants was soon allay'd, when they understood by an *Indian* Woman, and a Man who called on Captain *Stafford* by Name, and told him, that those *Indians* whom he attacked were his Friends of *Croaton*, come thither to gather Corn ; having learn'd that the *Dassamonpeaks*, &c. on the Death of Mr. *Howe*, had fled from their Habitations, and left their Corn to be devoured by the Birds.

THE *English* finding themselves disappointed of their intended Revenge, and touch'd with Concern for what had happen'd to their Friends, only gather'd what Corn was ripe, and left the rest growing for their Use. *Manteo* very justly imputed this Misfortune wholly to them, who had not kept their Promise in coming to the Governor at the Time they appointed.

Two remarkable Things happen'd about this time, at *Roanoak* ; viz. on the 13th of *August* the friendly *Indian Manteo* was christen'd ; and on the 18th *Eleanor*, the Governor's Daughter, and Wife to *Ananias Dare*, was deliver'd of a Daughter, which being the first Child born in that Colony, was named *Virginia*.

ALL Things being prepared for the Shipping to return to *England*, a sudden Storm arose, which drove the Admiral out to Sea, while the best half of the Sailors were on
H Shore ;

Shore ; so that it was six Days before the Ship could recover the Land, and a Division happening at the same time in the Council, about pitching on one of their own Number, to be sent home as Agent for the Colony, they generally declined accepting of the Employment, and unanimously insisted, that the Governor was the only fit Person to undertake it. Mr. *White* at last yielded to their Request, after obtaining a Certificate under their Hands, of his Unwillingness to leave his Command.

THE Names of the twelve Counsellors, who arrived on Board this Fleet at *Virginia*, were as follow, viz.

<i>John White</i> , Govern.	<i>Christopher Cowper</i> .	<i>Dionis Harvey</i> .
<i>Roger Bayley</i> .	<i>Thomas Stephen</i> .	<i>Roger Pratt</i> .
<i>Ananias Dare</i> .	<i>John Sampson</i> .	<i>George Howe</i> .
<i>Simon Ferdinando</i> .	<i>Thomas Smith</i> .	<i>Anthony Cage</i> .

IN the Year 1589. Mr. *John White* return'd with three Ships to *Virginia*, and arriv'd at *Hattarafs* on the 15th of *August* ; but after having spent several Days, and much Labour in vain, to find out the People he had left there two Years before, he was constrain'd by the Scarcity of Provision, bad Weather, and other unhappy Accidents, to return to *England* ; from which Time the famous Colony of *Virginia* was wholly neglected, and no other Attempt was made from *England*, to return to that Part of *America* until the Year 1602.

THE Government of *England*, about this time, under the political Conduct of that great Princess Queen *Elizabeth*, made so considerable a Figure, and held so great a Share in all the public Affairs of *Europe*, that the private
Adventurers

Adventurers concern'd in settling the Colony of *Virginia*, had not the Opportunity of receiving such Assistance from the Public, as otherwise they might have expected; and being also greatly discouraged by the continual Misfortunes that happen'd to them in the Prosecution of that Design, all further Projects of this Nature were laid aside for some time.

THE next Attempt from *England* to visit the North-Continent of *America*, was made in the Beginning of the Year 1602. by Captain *Gosnell*; who, with thirty Hands in a small Bark, sailed from *Dartmouth* on the 26th of *March*, and made the Coast of *America* on the 11th of *May*; they afterward landed and passed some time amongst a Number of small Islands, where they found great Plenty of Cod-Fish: The first Island towards the Sea, they called *Martha's Vineyard*; and the largest and fairest of all the rest, they called *Elizabeth's Island*: But not being in a Condition to make any Settlement, they return'd to *Exmouth* on the 23d of *July*, in the same Year.

SOME of the most considerable Merchants of the City of *Bristol*, in the Year 1603. fitted out two small Ships, under the Command of Captain *Martin Pring*, and *Robert Saltern*, who had been Pilot to Captain *Gosnell* the Year before; and after they had visited the same Places, and acted much in the same manner as Captain *Gosnell* had done, they return'd also, without making any Settlement, to *England*, in that memorable Year wherein the great Queen *Elizabeth* died. In the Beginning of *March*, 1605. which was in the second Year of the Reign of *James* the Ist, King of *Great-Britain*, the Right Honourable *Thomas Arundel*, Lord-Warder, sent out Captain *George Weymouth*,

on Discovery, to the North-Coast of *America* ; and on the 17th of *May* they made the Land on that Part of the Coast, afterwards called *New-England* : They passed by many small Islands, and landed at the Bottom of a spacious Bay or Sound ; they sail'd up a navigable River forty Miles in their Boat, set up Crosses in several Places, had some Traffick with the Natives, and return'd to *Dartmouth* on the 18th Day of *July*, in the same Year.

IN the mean time, Captain *Bartholomew Goffnell* had been indefatigable in his Application to inspire as many Gentlemen as he could, with a Desire of resettling the Colony of *Virginia* ; and at last having prevailed with Captain *John Smith*, Mr. *Edward Maria Wingfield*, Mr. *Robert Hunt*, and others, to join with him in this laudable Design, they made so great an Interest amongst the Nobility, Gentry, and principal Merchants in *London*, that on applying to the Court of *Great-Britain* for some Encouragement, to give the better Countenance to so useful an Undertaking, his Majesty, by his Royal Letters Patent, was graciously pleased to establish them in the Form of a Company, and to give them certain Rules of Government, by a standing Council amongst themselves at home, as well as by an inferior one abroad, to execute every Thing needful to be done there.

WHILE these Things were transacting, Care was taken to provide three Ships, one of an hundred, another of forty, and a third of twenty Tons ; and the Conduct of the Voyage was given to Captain *Christopher Newport*, a skilful Mariner on the *American* Coast ; but the Orders for Government were sealed up in a Box, which was not to be open'd ; so that the Names of the Commanders and chief Officers could

could not be known amongst them, until they arrived in *Virginia*. And as this was the first regular Settlement by public Authority in *Virginia*, from which therefore the History of the Colony will commence with more Order in the Narration, as well as Certainty of the Facts to be related, it will be convenient in this Place to give a short Description of the Country.

HITHERTO *Virginia* was understood to extend from thirty-four to forty-five Degrees of Northern Latitude, bounded by the Ocean to the East, *Florida* to the South, and *Canada*, or *New-France*, to the North; but towards the West, unlimited and unknown. It is however intended here, to treat chiefly of that Part which was planted by the *English* in the Year 1606. reaching only from thirty-seven to thirty-nine Degrees of Latitude; which continues at this Day to be the proper Bounds of the antient Colony, and Dominion of *Virginia*.

THE Coast of *America*, especially towards *Virginia*, is greatly esteem'd by Mariners, for its Safety; because as soon as they have Soundings, or can strike Ground with the Lead, which is commonly in eighty or ninety Fathom Water, about forty or fifty Leagues from Shore, it shoals gradually; so that an experienc'd Mariner can tell his Distance by the Depth of Water, the Land being so low, that in fifteen or twenty Fathom Water, you can scarce see it from the Mast-head.

COMING to *Virginia* from Sea, you enter into the Bay of *Cheasepeak*, between the Capes *Henry* and *Charles*, twenty Miles Distance from each other; so named after the then Prince of *Wales*, and his Brother the Duke of *York*;

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but the best Channel is close aboard of *Cape Henry*, which lies exactly in 37 Degrees of North Latitude; so that if the Sailor can depend on his Observation of the Latitude at Noon, the Day he expects to make the Land, he may safely venture in the Night-time to come in with the *Cape*, which is a bold bluff Point; and by keeping the South Shore on board, he will come to a good Road in a large Bay, about two Leagues within the *Cape*, called *Lynnhaven Bay*, where the Shipping commonly wait for Pilots, and likewise rendezvous there in Fleets, when outward-bound, in time of War.

THAT Inlet or Arm of the Sea, called the Bay of *Cheapeake*, stretches from the above Road directly North two hundred Miles in Length, and is from ten to fifteen Miles broad, but grows narrow towards the Bottom; it receives many large Rivers from the Western Shore, and a few smaller Streams from a narrow Slip of Land, a Peninsula to the Westward, which divides the Bay from the main Ocean.

THE first remarkable River in *Virginia* was formerly called *Powhatton*, but now *James River*, which opens itself directly West from *Cape Henry*; it is near two Miles broad, and navigable for large Ships above one hundred Miles; the first *English* Settlement was made on the North Side of this River, about forty Miles up, and called *James Town*.

FIFTEEN Miles North from *James River*, there is another much of the same Bigness, called *York River*; it is navigable for large Ships above sixty Miles up, and then divides itself into two large Branches, which are likewise
navigable

navigable a considerable way for Sloops and Barges: At the Point of Division the Country is called *Pawmonkie*, which was formerly the *Indian* Name for the whole River; and that small Slip of Land which divides *York* from *James River*, is esteemed to be a very rich Soil, producing at this Time the best Tobacco in all that Country, known by the Name of *sweet-scented Tobacco*, which will bear a closer Package than any other, and therefore is often stripped from the Stalk before it is pressed into the Hoghead; by which means, one Cask of this Tobacco will weigh from fifteen hundred to two thousand Pounds Weight; and some particular Crops of the most careful Planters of this Commodity have frequently been sold on the Key at the Port of *London* for twelve Pence *per* Pound.

THERE are many small Streams and Branches, which in the Course of these large Rivers fall into them on both Sides, and contribute to make this Country vastly commodious for Traffick, as well as exceedingly pleasant to the Inhabitants: But there are two very remarkable Inlets of Water, or Creeks, navigable with the Tide by any kind of Shallop or flat-bottom'd Boat: The one enters from *James River*, and stretches North across the Land about five Miles, to a good Landing-place; the other in like manner runs South from *York River* up into the Land: So that there is a Space only of one Mile between the Landings of these two Creeks, which being a dry gravelly wholesome Soil, was formerly an *Indian* Settlement, and is now become the chief Seat of Government in *Virginia*, called *Williamsburgh*; which, by means of the said two Creeks, commands the Navigation both of *James* and *York Rivers*; for it was observed, that *James Town*, and every other Settlement on a River Side, where the Water was brackish, produced

produced flow intermitting Fevers and Agues, whereas the above Situation of the Town of *Williamsburgh*, being perfectly dry, and removed at some Distance from that Nuisance, is found to be very healthy, and free from any such Inconvenience.

AT about ten Miles from *York River*, there is a small Stream navigable thirty Miles up, called *Piancotank*, and twenty Miles further you come to another large River, called *Rappahannock*, which is two Miles broad, and navigable with large Ships one hundred and thirty Miles.

FROM *Rappahannock* you cross a Tract of Land about eighteen Miles, called the *Northern Neck*, to the great River *Potowmaek*; which at this time divides the Colony of *Virginia* from that of *Maryland*. This River, at the Mouth where it falls into the Bay of *Cheasepeak*, is seven Miles wide, and is navigable one hundred and forty Miles up to the Falls, where it is divided into several Branches, one whereof extends North-west a great way, and another stretches South-west, and comes out from behind the high Ridge of Mountains, called the *Appallockian Hills*, that divide the Waters which run Eastward into the Sea, from those which flow Westward, and fall into the famous River *Mississippi*.

THE Country of *Virginia*, one hundred and fifty Miles up from the Sea, is for the most part a low sandy Soil, without any Stones, and covered with a black and light, but rich Mould, not above six or eight Inches deep; which, if it be at any time ploughed up to the Bottom, will immediately wear out, and become barren; but if you do not suffer the Plough to reach above four or five Inches, and take

take only one Crop of Corn in four Years, the Soil will thicken, and never wear out, yielding increase of Wheat from twelve to fifteen for one; and where they use Dung, a great deal more: Thus on new Land, after the Expence and Labour of cutting down and clearing the Wood, one Husbandman, with a Yoke of Oxen, or a pair of small Horses in his Plough, will be able to raise more Grain than two Men and three times as many Cattle can do in *England*; for the Sun in that Climate has such Power to meliorate that light, but kindly Soil, that if the Seed is but covered, it will produce any thing; but for the same Reason, all manner of Weeds spring up so fast, that there is an absolute Necessity of weeding the Corn once, and the Tobacco and Garden-stuff continually, to keep them from being choaked.

THE Fleet above-mentioned, consisting of three Sail of small Ships, commanded by Captain *Newport*, sailed from *Blackwall* on the 19th of *December* 1606; but being detained by contrary Winds and bad Weather on the Coast of *England* six Weeks, and afterwards taking their Course by the *Canaries* to the *West-Indies*, their Curiosity tempted them to spend so much Time at *Dominico* and other Islands, that they could scarce find their Way to that Part of the Continent to which they were bound; at the same time some Disputes arising amongst them, whether they should return back to *England*, a sudden Storm obliged them to lie too for a while, and drove them by mere Accident on *Cape Henry*, at the Entrance of the Bay of *Cheaseapeak*, about the Beginning of *May*.

THIS lucky Event so revived their Spirits, that about thirty of them chearfully landed on the Cape, where care-
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lessly diverting themselves without their Arms, five *Indians* attacked them, and two of the *English* were dangerously wounded: Nevertheless, that very Night the Box was open'd, and the Orders of Government being read, it was found, that *Bartholomew Goffnell*, *John Martin*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Rattcliff*, and *George Kendall*, were appointed to be the Council, and directed to chuse out of their own Number, a President for the Year. And after a few Days were employed in finding out a convenient Place to settle in, they made choice of that Spot on the North Side of *James River*, ever since called *James Town*; and on the 13th of *May*, the Members of the Council being all sworn, they chose Mr. *Wingfield* President; but by reason of some Animosity and Jealousy which prevailed amongst them, Capt. *John Smith* was not then admitted to take his Place in the Council.

ALL Hands were now employed in one sort of Business or other, and the *Indians* came frequently in a kindly manner to visit them; but the President, out of an over-careful Fear of giving Umbrage and Suspicion to the Natives, would not permit any other Fortification to be made, than throwing together some Branches of Trees in the Form of a Semicircle; nor would he, for the same Reason, permit the Men to be exercised in Arms.

CAPTAIN *Newport* and Captain *Smith*, with twenty Men, were sent up to discover the Head of *James River*, and in six Days they reach'd the Falls, where, on a rising Ground, they found a small *Indian Town*, called *Powhatan*, and were every-where kindly treated by the *Indians*; but as they return'd, within twenty Miles of *James Town*, they

they were inform'd, that the *Indians* had attacked the Settlement; and next Day, when they arrived there, they found seventeen of their Companions wounded, and a Boy killed, the Natives having surprized them all at Work, and their Arms not so much as untow'd out of the Fats. Hereupon the President condescended, that the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, and the Men daily exercised, as well as a constant Guard kept; for the *Indians* were continually lying in wait to hurt the People as they straggled abroad, so that there was great Need of a careful Watch, and good Discipline; in all which, Captain *Smith* shewed such Courage and Conduct, that the whole Company insisted on his being admitted to take his Place in the Council; which was no sooner agreed to, but the *Indians* began to sue for Peace: And all Things being at this time prepared for Captain *Newport's* Return with the Shipping, he departed from *Virginia* in the latter End of *June*, leaving behind him about one hundred Persons, who may properly be called the first Planters of that Colony.

As a disinterested Desire of Power, with the pure Intent of doing Good to Mankind, or to that particular Society we are engaged in, is a most amiable and divine Principle, so the pernicious Arts which are too commonly made use of to engross to ourselves Power, with no other Design but to sooth those Passions that are evidently destructive to all Society, are monstrous and abominable; and this is no-where more clearly exemplified, than at the Beginning of a new Settlement in a foreign Colony, where the Persons deputed to govern are at a Distance from their Constituents, and consequently, from under the Awe of that superior Direction and Experience which gave them Authority.

No sooner were the Ships gone, but the Men began to feel a sensible Want of many little Conveniencies, such as small Quantities of Bisquet and Beer, which, the Sailors used to bring on Shore to exchange with them for Trifles, or perhaps give it *gratis* for Relief to their Friends: The President, who chose to live as well as he could, by engrossing every thing to himself, took no manner of Care what became of the rest, further than giving them indifferently the poor Allowance of half a Pint of Wheat, and as much Barley a Day *per* Man, which in the common Kettle was boiled in Water for their Sustenance. This miserable Diet, together with hard Work during the whole Summer, in so hot a Climate, brought a general Sicknes amongst them; so that before the latter end of *September* fifty died, of which Number Captain *Goffnell* was one.

ABOUT this Time it was discover'd, that the President, apprehending the Misery and Want which himself would be at last reduced to, had form'd a Design of carrying off the Pinnace with a few Hands, and of deserting the Settlement; which so roused the Spirits of all the People, that they unanimously deposed him, and chose Captain *Rattcliff* in his Room: Soon afterwards, by the Surgeon's Care, and the Approach of a cooler Season, they began in general to recover Health; yet it was found, that by the late President's voluptuous and ill Management, the Provisions were all spent, which must certainly have put an End to the Settlement, if the Savages had not been inspired with a sudden and friendly Inclination to furnish the *English* with Plenty of Corn, and every other kind of Provision they could afford.

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THE new President, together with Mr. *Martin*, who had the chief Direction, being both indolent and weak in their Judgment of Things, thought fit to commit the Conduct of Business abroad to Captain *Smith*, who by his own laborious and indefatigable Example, made all the People exert themselves in an extraordinary manner: But that great Plenty of Corn which had appeared for some time among the *Indians*, being at last gone with the Season, and no more left than what was needful for Winter-store to themselves, Captain *Smith*, with a few of the ablest Hands, took the Shallop, and went down to the Mouth of the River as far as *Kocoughtan*, in quest of more Provision.

ON the Captain's Approach with his People, the *Indians* in that Part of the Country began to ridicule him, by offering a handful of Corn at a Distance, as if they imagined that the *English* were all just ready to perish with Famine; but the Captain made no Hesitation to answer their insolent Reproaches with a Volley of Shot, which immediately dispersed them into the Woods. Then marching up to their Habitations he saw great Heaps of Corn, but would not suffer his Men, at that Instant, to pursue their strong Inclination to plunder, because, as it really happened, he suspected that the *Indians* would lose no Time to attack him; and accordingly, they forthwith appeared in the most dreadful manner, hideously painted, with their Idol, which they called *Okee*, dressed up in Rags, and carried before them. The Captain, however, received their Charge, and returned his Fire so effectually, as to kill some of them on the Spot, which made the rest fly, and leave *Okee* behind them: But presently after, they sent one of their chief
Men

Men to desire Peace, and to offer Terms for the Redemption of their Idol. In Answer, Captain *Smith* told them, That if they would send six of their People unarm'd, to load his Boat with Corn, he would not only be their Friend, but restore their *Okee*, and give them Beads and Hatchets besides. They readily accepted the Offer, and both Parties being thus well contented, the *Indians* brought in great Plenty of Venison, Turkies, and other wild Fowl, also Bread, and a Share of every Thing they had ; continuing to sing and dance with all possible Marks of Friendship, as long as the Captain stay'd.

ON the Captain's Return to *James Town*, he observed their ill Conduct, in carelessly consuming what was got from Hand to Mouth, without taking any Thought for the future ; and therefore he order'd the Pinnace to be got ready, and well fitted, with Intent to go himself in quest of Provision for the whole Year ; and in the mean time he made three or four small Trips, in one of which he discover'd the People of *Cbikahamania* ; but what small Supply he brought from thence was soon spent ; and Messieurs *Wingfield* and *Kendall*, who were in Disgrace, seeing Things every-where neglected in Captain *Smith's* Absence, and the whole Company dissatisfied with the President's and his Friend *Martin's* Conduct, they endeavour'd, amongst the Sailors and some few more of the People, to regain a little Credit ; and so treacherously form'd a Design to carry off the Pinnace, which was fitting up for Captain *Smith's* Use ; and by that Means, to go for *England*. But Captain *Smith* returning much sooner than they expected, the Plot was discover'd to him just in time ; for they had already got on Board the Pinnace, and resolved to depart, when Captain *Smith* attack'd them

them in the River, and brought them on Shore by Force of Arms, in which Scuffle Captain *Kendall* lost his Life.

THE *English* at this time were daily receiving such welcome Supplies of Corn from their new Acquaintance, and good Friends the *Indians*, on the River *Chikabamania*, and the Winter-Season produced such Swarms of Geese, Ducks, and all Manner of Wild-Fowl, that they continued feasting for some time, and forgot their usual Jarring and Disputing while they wallowed in Plenty; neither was any more Talk amongst them of returning to *England*. Yet this seeming Tranquillity lasted but a short Space; for when the Corn began again to be scarce, they not only murmured, but openly complained of Captain *Smith* in the Council, as if he had not used his utmost Diligence, in discovering the uppermost Parts of the River *Chikabamania*, where so great Plenty was to be had: The Captain, not a little provoked at so malicious a Charge, was forthwith determin'd to make another bold Push in that Quarter; but after cutting many large Trees asunder, as well as through other laborious and great Difficulties, he had carried his Barge as far up the River as it was possible, he left her in a broad Place out of the Danger of any Shot, giving strict Orders, that none of the People should attempt to go on Shore until he return'd, whilst himself, with two *Englishmen*, and two *Indians*, went up higher in a Canoe. But he had not been long absent, before they in the Barge, foolishly disobeying the Orders given, went on Shore, and not being on their Guard, the *Indians* slew one of them, and had like to have cut off the Boat with all the rest.

THE Captain was now got into the Marshes on the Head of the River, and while he was a hunting with the two *Indians*

dians among the Bushes, his two Men, *John Robinson* and *Thomas Entry*, were killed, it is supposed, as they were asleep, by the Canoe; and immediately the Captain was surrounded by two hundred Savages, two of whom he instantly shot dead, and still continued fighting and defending himself by the Help of one of his *Indian* Guides, who with his Garters was tyed to his left Arm, to serve him, for a Shield. Nevertheless the Captain was shot in the Thigh, and a great many Arrows stuck in his Cloaths, without piercing *so far* as to hurt him. The Captain still keeping his Eye fixed on the Enemy, more than the Path, he continued his slow March, endeavouring to reach the Canoe, when of a sudden, he, together with the *Indian* that was tyed to him, fell into an oozy Creek up to the Middle, where they stuck so fast that it was impossible for him to get out without Help; in this miserable Condition he was obliged to throw away his Arms, and to capitulate with his Enemies to take him out, being almost perished with Cold.

THE surprising Circumstances of Captain *Smith's* being detained seven Weeks a Prisoner amongst the *Indians*, the Manner of their Triumphs and Conjurations on that Occasion, and the various artificial Turns of the Captain's Conduct and Management with those barbarous People, not only to save his own Life, but to keep them from making any Attempt on the Settlement at *James Town*, are such uncommon Singularities, as merit in this Place to be particularly narrated.

WHEN the *Indians* had dug the Captain out of the Mud, they carried him to the Fire, and carefully chafed his benumb'd Limbs, until he recover'd himself so far as to inquire who was the Commander or chief Man amongst them; and

and they pointing to *Opochancanough*, King of *Paumonkee*, the Captain took out of his Pocket a double Ivory-Compass Dial, and made a Present of it to the *Indian*; and as they seem'd to be vastly entertain'd with observing the Motion of the Needle under the Glass, and the other Ornaments of that little Machine, the Captain took that Occasion to explain to them, in some measure, from the Figure of the Dial, the globular Form of the Earth, the diurnal Motion of the Sun, Moon and Stars, the Greatness of the Land and Sea, the Diversity of Nations, Variety of Complexions, and how the *English* were *Antipodes* to them; to all which they gave solemn Attention, and stood in Amazement for some time; but presently afterwards they tyed the Captain to a Tree, and as many as could stand around, prepared themselves to shoot at him, when instantly the King holding up the Compass in his Hand, they all drop'd their Bows and Arrows; and then led Captain *Smith* in a triumphant Manner to a hunting Village not far off, whither they marched in great Order, with their King in the Middle, and Captain *Smith's* Arms carried in Triumph before him. The Captain followed, or rather was led, after the King, by two large *Indians*, holding him fast by each Arm, while six marched on each Side of the Prisoner, with their Arrows notched; when they arrived at the Town called *Arapacks*, the Women and Children flock'd out to stare on him, and the Bowmen perform'd an Exercise by certain Evolutions; then turn'd themselves into a Circle around the King and the Prisoner, who stood guarded in the Centre; then they all danced around with dreadful Shriekings and Noise, every Man being hideously painted, with a Quiver of Arrows and a large Club at his Back, a Fox or Otter's Skin on his Arm, his Bow in his Hand, and the Skin of a large Bird with the Wings stretched out on his Head, together with a

K Piece

Piece of Copper, a white Shell, and a huge Feather, with a Rattle of a Snake's Tail, or some such Toy, hung to it.

AFTER dancing three times round, they departed, and then the Captain was conducted to a long Room, where forty tall Fellows were appointed for his Guard; and soon after that a great Quantity of Bread, Venison, and other Eatables, were set before him; and when the Prisoner had done eating as much as satisfied him, the Remainder was carefully put by till Midnight, when they brought in a fresh Quantity, eating only themselves what was left at Noon; and thus they continued to do every twelve Hours, which made the Captain suspect, that they intended to fatten him up for a Sacrifice; and while under this desperate uncertain Condition, he was ready to perish with Cold, an *Indian* called *Mancaffater* brought him his Gown, in grateful Return for some Beads, and other Toys, he had received from the Captain, at his first Arrival in *Virginia*.

ABOUT two Days after this, a certain *Indian*, whose Son was dying of the Wounds he had received, attempted to kill Captain *Smith*; but he was prevented by the Guard, who carried the Prisoner directly to the dying Man, in Expectation that he could recover him. The Captain told them, he had a Medicine at *James Town*, which would effectually do it; but they did not incline to trust him with the Liberty of going thither, to fetch it; and having form'd a Design to attack the *English* Fort, they mightily desired to engage Captain *Smith* to assist them; for which End they offer'd not only to secure his Life, but also to give him large Possessions in Land, and to provide young Women for him, and all Manner of Plenty. The Captain, with great Judgment and Art, made Use of this Opportunity, by writing in
his

his Pocket-Book, to advertise his Friends at *James Town*, how they might both defend themselves, and frighten the *Indians*; For this purpose, he directed them, on the Arrival of the *Indian* Messengers, to exercise their People in Arms, and to discharge the Artillery in the grandest Manner they could, and not to fail putting the Things he had sent for, in a certain Place, which he had marked to them, without the Fort. At the same time he gave the *Indians* most terrible Accounts of Mines, great Guns, and other warlike Engines, made use of by the *English* against their Enemies, which seem'd both to frighten and amaze them; however the Messengers proceeded with the Captain's Directions to *James Town*, in the Midst of extreme cold Weather. But when they had delivered their Message at the Fort, and saw the *English* sally forth in such a surprising Manner, as the Captain had described to them, together with the Noise which the Cannon, and other Fire-works, made at the same time; it so frighten'd the Messengers, that they fled into the Woods, and when they ventured to return again in the Evening to that Place without the Fort, where the Captain had directed them, they found all the Things which he expected to be sent by them.

ON the Return of this Message the *Indians* were astonish'd, how the Captain could thus foretell Things to come, and make his little Pocket-Book speak. They in a manner worship'd him; and carried him about as a Shew to all the *Indian* Nations around, both at *Rappahannock* and *Potowmack* Rivers, and so return'd back through every *Indian* Town in their Way to the King's Habitation, at *Pawmonkee*, where the poor Prisoner was entertain'd with frightful Conjurations.

IN the Morning early the Prisoner was brought into a long Room with a Fire, and Mats being spread on each Side, he was made to sit down, and the Guards were order'd out. Then came skipping in a grim Fellow, bedaub'd with Coal and Oil; he had a great many Snakes and Weasels Skins, stuffed with Moss, and their Tails together hanging over his Head in a Tassel; round about which was a Coronet of Feathers, that hung down to his Shoulders, and almost cover'd his Face: Thus, with a Rattle in his Hand, and making use of strange uncouth Gestures, he exalted a hollow dreadful Voice, and began his Invocation by making a Circle of Meal round the Fire; then three more such Devils as himself, painted half black, half red, came rushing in, playing the like antic Tricks; and when they had danced about the Prisoner a little while, there came in three more, with red Eyes and white Streaks over their black Faces, as ugly as the former; at last they sat down three on each Side of the Chief-priest, opposite to the Captain; and after singing a Song, the Priest laid down five Wheat Corns; then straining with his Arms, until the Veins swelled, he began an Oration, which ended, they all gave a huge Groan, and he laid down three Grains more; after this they sung again with another Oration, laying down other three Grains, and so continued to do, until they had made three Circles round the Fire; then they took a Bunch of little Sticks, prepared for that Purpose, and still going on with their Devotion, at the End of every Song and Oration; they laid down a Stick betwixt every Division of Corn, which they continued doing all Day long, without eatidg or drinking till late at Night; but then they feasted merrily, with the best Provisions they could get; and after repeating this tedious Ceremony for three or four Days successively, they told Captain *Smith*,
That

That their Meaning was to discover, whether he intended them Good or Ill ; that the Circle of Meal signified their Country ; the Circles of Corn were the Bounds of the Sea ; and by the Sticks, was meant his Country ; for they imagined the World to be round and flat, like a Trencher, and themselves to be in the Middle of it. After this, they brought out a Bag of Gunpowder, which they told Captain *Smith*, they intended in the Spring to plant, as they did their Corn, being they much desired to know the Nature of that Seed. The Prisoner was then invited to the King's Brother's House, where he was plentifully entertain'd ; but altho' none of them would at any time eat along with him, at their Return to the King of the *Pawmonkees*, all the Women and Children flocked about the Captain, and shared always amongst them what Victuals he left.

LAST of all, the Prisoner was carried to *Meronocomaco*, the Seat of their great Emperor *Powhatton*, to whom they were formally introduced, as he sat, in a solemn Manner, on a wooden Bench before a great Fire, cover'd with a Robe of Raccoon Skins. There sat on each Side of the Emperor a young Woman, and on each Side of the Room two Rows of Men, and as many Women behind them, with all their Hands and Shoulders painted red ; at the Captain's Entrance before this Prince, all the People gave a Shout, and the Queen of *Appomattock* was appointed to bring Water to wash his Hands, and another brought him a Bunch of Feathers, instead of a Towel, to dry them. After this, having feasted the Prisoner in the grandest Manner they could, a long Consultation was held amongst them ; at the Conclusion whereof, two great Stones were placed before the Emperor *Powhatton* ; then as many as could, laid Hands on the Prisoner, and dragging him towards the Stones, they put his Head on them,

them, and immediately prepared themselves with great Clubs to knock out his Brains ; but at this very Instant, *Pocobontas* the King's favourite Daughter, after she found no Intreaties could prevail, flew to the Block ; and taking Captain *Smith's* Head in her Arms, she laid her own upon it to save him from Death ; which surprizing Event moved the Emperor to tell the Prisoner, that he should live to make Hatchets for him, and Bells and other Ornaments for his Daughter *Pocobontas*.

IN about two Days, *Powhatton* having dress'd himself up in a most frightful Manner, caused Captain *Smith* to be brought into a large House, standing by itself in the Woods, where he was placed on a Mat by the Fire-side, and so left quite alone ; soon afterwards the Captain heard from behind a Mat, which divided the House like a Curtain, a most doleful and unpleasant Noise ; then appeared the Emperor *Powhatton*, more like a Devil than a Man, at the Head of two hundred as black as himself ; and as he approached Captain *Smith*, he told him, that now they were good Friends together, he intended to send him to *James Town*, from whence he desired the Captain would order two great Guns and a Grind-stone to be sent to him ; for which *Powhatton* would give him in Return the Country of *Capahowosok*, and for ever esteem him as his Son *Nantaquond*. Accordingly the Captain was immediately dispatch'd Home with twelve Guides ; but as they were obliged to lie all that Night in the Woods, the Captain could not shake off the Apprehensions he had all along had every Moment, until the next Morning early, when they arrived at the *English Fort* ; where, after the Captain had entertain'd his Conductors in the most generous Manner, he shew'd to *Rawhunt*, *Powhatton's* Servant, two Demi-culverins and a Mill-stone, to be carried to his Master ;

Master; but besides that the Present was rather too weighty for them, when they saw the great Guns that were loaded with Stones, discharged at a huge great Tree, from which the Boughs, full of Icicles, came tumbling down with a dreadful Noise, the poor *Indians* run away half dead with Fear; after a little time, being persuaded to return, Captain *Smith* gave them a great many Toys, and likewise sent such handsome Presents to *Powhatton*, his Women, and Children, as fully contented them.

CAPTAIN *Smith* found all Things at *James Town* in great Disorder; another discontented Party made a third Attempt to run away with the Pinnace; which the Captain again prevented with the Hazard of his Life, by endeavouring to sink the Vessel with Cannon-shot, and driving the Deserters on Shore by Force of Arms. Their Spleen against Captain *Smith* was such, that some of them, in Concert with the President, form'd a Design against his Life; by spiriting up one or two casuistical Lawyers to insist, that the Captain ought to be try'd by the Levitical Law, for the Death of *Robinson* and *Entry*, who had perish'd by his Means; but the Captain's invincible Spirit soon got the better of these Artifices, by sending the pretended Lawyers Prisoners to *England*.

IN the mean time the Princess *Pocobontas* was sure, once in five or six Days, with her Attendants, to bring a plentiful Load of Provisions to the *English Fort*; without which they neither could have subsisted, nor would Captain *Smith* have been able to prevent their Desertion.

WHILE Captain *Smith* remain'd a Prisoner amongst the *Indians*, he had told them, That much about this Time,
Captain

Captain *Newport*, whom he used to call his Father, would arrive with a fresh Supply of Men and Provisions from *England*; and it so happening as the Captain had foretold, the *Indians* from thence had conceived a prodigious Respect and Veneration for him; and gave such intire Credit to every Thing he said, that they contentedly submitted to let him settle the stated Price and Value of every Thing brought to Market; so that for some time, they purchased what Provisions they wanted from the *Indians*, at a very moderate Rate; yet this lasted but a short while, for the President and some others of the Council, were so indiscreetly jealous of Captain *Smith's* Reputation with the Savages, and so much envied his Credit amongst them, that they industriously gave a great deal more than Captain *Smith* allowed, in Exchange for Corn, &c. thinking thereby to raise their own Characters and Authority amongst the *Indians*, far above Captain *Smith's*: This, together with the unbounded Liberty given to the common Sailors at that time, of trading with the *Indians* in what Manner they pleased, so spoil'd the Market, that the *Indians* became exorbitant in their Demands, and would not sell for a Pound Weight of Copper, what a little before they would chearfully have given for an Ounce.

IN the mean time, the Emperor *Powhatton*, who had from *Smith's* Report, already conceived a mighty Opinion of Captain *Newport*, was now fully confirm'd in those Sentiments, by the large Presents which *Newport* had sent him; and the Captain again on his Part, being no less puffed-up with a Conceit of the Emperor's Grandeur, they burn'd with a mutual Desire of seeing each other. When the Pinnace was prepared, and all Things put in the best Order, to convoy Captain *Newport*, Captain *Smith*, and Mr. *Scribner*, a new Member of the Council from *England*, and a
Retinue

Retinue to the Number of forty Persons, on this Visit; they no sooner arrived at *Worococomoco*, but the Idea which *Newport* had conceived of *Powhatton's* Greatness, filled his Head with Doubt and Fear, lest some Trap should be laid for them; to remove which, *Smith* undertook to go on Shore, at the Head of twenty Men, and to clear the Way for the rest to follow him; when Captain *Smith* landed, he found there were so many ozey Creeks to pass, by the Help of a few Sticks carelessly laid over, by way of a Bridge, that he himself suspected some Treachery; and therefore keeping some of the *Indians* behind with him, he made the rest conduct one Half of his Men over, and then follow'd himself quite up to the *Indian* Town, where *Powhatton* received him with great Pomp; and after his Manner, they were magnificently entertain'd, with Feasting, Dancing, and Singing, all that Night; Proclamation being first made, that no *Indian* should presume to offer the least Offence to any *Englishman* on Pain of Death.

THE next Day Captain *Newport* landed, and was received by *Powhatton*, sitting on his Bed of Mats, leaning on a Pillow of Leather, embroider'd, after their rude Manner, with Pearl and white Beads: He was cloathed in a large Fur Mantle, with a handsome young Woman at his Head, and another at his Feet; on each Side of the Room sat twenty of his Concubines, with their Heads and Shoulders painted red, and a String of white Beads about their Necks; right before him were placed the chief Men of his Court, and behind there was a Guard of at least five hundred People, through which a Lane was made for the *English* to pass.

CAPTAIN *Newport* was much pleased with the *Indians* Manner of entertaining them, and made *Powhatton* a
L Present

Present of an *English* Boy, called *Thomas Salvage*: In Return, the King gave the Captain an *Indian* Servant, of a shrewd subtle Capacity, whose Name was *Namantack*: Thus they spent four or five Days in carousing, trading, and complimenting one another; and at last the subtle *Indian* made a formal Harangue to Captain *Newport*, telling him, That it did not become either of their Dignities, to trade with each other in Trifles, as the lower Rank of People did: Wherefore he proposed, that Captain *Newport* should lay down before him all his Merchandise at once; then the Emperor would chuse such Things as suited him, and give what he judged to be their Value in Return. Hereupon Captain *Smith*, who was the Interpreter between them, told *Newport* to beware of the *Indian*, for that he plainly intended to cheat him. But the Captain, intoxicated with the vain Ostentation of out-doing the haughty Savage in his own Way, thereby hoping to gain considerably upon him, agreed to the Proposal, and immediately deposited all his Goods before him. On which it appearing, as *Smith* had foretold, that the *Indian* put twenty times a greater Value on his Corn, and Skins, &c. than they were really worth, Captain *Smith* was somewhat uneasy at *Newport's* Conduct; yet carefully concealing his Thoughts from *Powhatton*, he plac'd in his View a great many gaudy Trifles, amongst which there was a Bunch of glittering blue Beads, that the King took a Fancy to: But *Smith* told him, they were the most valuable Part of the whole Cargo, being composed of a curious rare Metal of the Colour of the Sky, that was only to be worn by the greatest Emperors in the World. This artful Discourse so raised the proud *Indian's* Desire to be Master of such rare Jewels, that before parting, he courted Captain *Smith* to accept of three hundred Baskets of Corn for about two Pounds Weight of those Beads; which made some
Amends

Amends for *Newport's* bad Market in other Things of greater Value.

MUCH in the same Manner, they were afterwards entertain'd by *Opocancanough*, King of *Pawmonkee* ; who was likewise accommodated with a Parcel of blue Beads, at the same Rate, which Commodity became in such Esteem amongst them, that none but the great Kings, their Wives and Children, were permitted to wear them.

THIS Company no sooner returned to their Friends at the Fort, than they carefully stored up this fresh Supply of Corn, &c. But the Town, which was only thatched with Reeds, happen'd to be accidentally set on Fire, and quite burnt down to the Palisadoes : By this unhappy Event, they lost a great Part of their Arms, Bedding, Cloaths, &c. and almost all their Provision, which was very uncomfortable in the Middle of the Winter, 1607. during the Time of an extreme hard Frost.

THE Ship's Company, who had now been detained fourteen Weeks, altho' with good Conduct they might have been dispatched in fourteen Days, contributed to an Expence of a great Part of the Provision, which had been sent from *England*, for the Use of the Colony ; and tho' Captain *Smith* and Mr. *Scrivener* were very industrious to see every Thing managed to the best Advantage, yet they were overpower'd by the President and his Friends in the Council ; who encouraged Luxury, and filled the People's Heads with vain empty Hopes, of making Gold out of every shining Pebble they met with. Thus Labour was neglected, and none valued so much as the Refiners for their gilded Promises. Even Captain *Newport* himself was drawn into this Snare,

who failed early in the Spring for *England*, taking Mr. *Wingfield*, and Captain *Archer*, along with him.

THE chief Authority at this time was lodged with Captain *Martin*, and the sickly President, who revelled in Plenty by selling the public Stores for their own Use, while others were half-starved. Mr. *Scrivener* and Captain *Smith* divided between them the Care of rebuilding *James Town*, repairing the Palisadoes, and planting of Corn, &c. And while all Hands were thus employed, Captain *Nelson*, in the Ship *Phoenix*, who came out of *England* in Company with *Newport*, but was blown to the *West-Indies* in a Storm, just then arrived, to the unlooked-for Joy and Content of all the Company.

NELSON, who had been a most careful Manager during all the Time of his Misfortune, had found means to support his People amongst the Islands in the *West-Indies*, without spending but very little of his *English* Stock ; so that he brought as much Provision with him, as at the poor Rate of their Living was sufficient to serve the Colony for six Months.

A SMALL Dispute happen'd at this time between Captain *Martin* and Captain *Smith*, the first intending to have loaded the Ship *Phoenix* with Ore, whilst the other insisted to fill her up with Cedar, both for Profit and Dispatch. In the mean time the Emperor *Powhatton* took a Fancy to send Captain *Smith* a Present of twenty Turkies, hoping to get in Return twenty Swords, as he had from Captain *Newport*, for the like Present just before his Departure ; and finding himself disappointed of his Expectation, he set his People to work all manner of Ways, to procure by Stealth, or even by Force, what

what Arms they could from the *English*; and the fearful President, under Colour of the strict Orders from *England* — not to offend the *Indians*, was so indolently mild as to take no Notice of those Abuses; which at last made the Natives so insolent, as to beat and abuse the People, robbing them of their Arms, while they were at Work in the Field. Captain *Smith* however could bear such Treatment no longer, and after hunting those disorderly *Indians* up and down, where-ever they could be met with, he publickly whipt some, and imprison'd seven, to make them discover by whose Command, and for what Purpose they dared to commit such disorderly Actions.

THE Savages hereupon seized on two straggling Soldiers, and assembling a great Number of them together, they came up in a hostile Manner to the Fort, threatening mighty Things, if the *Indian* Prisoners were not immediately released; but Captain *Smith* sallying out that Instant, so galled them, that they were glad to sue for Peace, and delivered up the two Soldiers, without insisting on any Terms for the Prisoners; who were so strictly examined, that they all confessed, *Powhatton* had set them on to procure Arms, in order to attack the *English*. Notwithstanding the sly *Indian*, at this very Juncture, sent particular Messengers, and large Presents, along with his favourite Daughter *Pocobuntas*, to excuse the Injuries that had been rashly done by some of his People; intreating the Prisoners might be set at Liberty, with strong Assurances of his future Love and Friendship. But Captain *Smith*, who knew best how to deal with these People, first corrected the Prisoners; and then using them more gently for two Days, he delivered them to the Princess *Pocobuntas*, for whose Sake only he pretended to have saved their Lives.

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THE President and his Friends in the Council, who were always too cautiously afraid of quarrelling with the *Indians*, took this Opportunity of finding Fault with Captain *Smith* for his Cruelty to the Prisoners; but nevertheless it had so good an Effect as to keep the Natives under such Awe, that for some time they were frighten'd at the very [Name of Captain *Smith*.

THE Ship *Phenix*, by *Smith* and *Nelson's* Diligence, was now loaded with Cedar, and ready to depart: Mr. *Scrivener* gave the needful Attention to Business at the Fort, while Captain *Smith* prepared himself, with a select Company, to go up the Bay of *Cheasapeak*, on further Discovery.

ON the 2d Day of *June*, 1608. Captain *Smith*, with fourteen Persons more in Company, left *James Town*, in an open Barge, and parting with the *Phenix* outward-bound at *Cape Henry*, they coasted along the Eastern Shore of the Bay of *Cheasapeak*; discovering many small Islands, Creeks, and Inlets, to which they gave such Names as they pleased; and informed themselves of as many Particulars, relating to the Country, as they could learn from many different *Indian* Nations, whom they met and conversed with; and tho' those Savages made several Attempts to betray the *English* into Ambuscades they had laid for them, yet Captain *Smith* was so cautious and hold at the same time, that being always possessed of Hostages before he would trust them, he still escaped their Snares without losing a Man, even tho' he was frequently obliged to attack and kill some of them.

DURING this Peregrination, the Captain met with some hard Gales of Wind, Thunder, and Rain, which not only
fatigued

fatigued his People, but spoil'd their Provisions in the open Barge, and otherwise distressed them; so that after fourteen Days, two or three falling sick, they were obliged to return from about the Middle of the Bay; and on the 16th of *June* they fell in with the Mouth of *Potowmack* River, which being seven Miles wide, their Curiosity led them to pursue it quite up as far as they could go; in which Expedition they still met with a greater Variety among the Natives, and had several Adventures with them. At last, while they were fishing for Diversion, Captain *Smith* was accidentally struck in the Wrist by a sharp Sting in the Tail of a large flat Fish, called a *Stingray*, which in a few Hours so swell'd the Captain's whole Arm and Shoulder, with excessive Pain, that they all despaired of his Life: But after Doctor *Russel* had probed the Wound, and anointed the Part with a softening lenitive Oil, the Violence of the Pain abated, and they set Sail for *James* Town, where they arrived in Safety on the 21st of *July*, to the unspeakable Joy of their Friends, who were in great Perplexity from the bad Effects of the President *Ratcliff*'s ill Conduct; for he had not only wasted the public Stores, but had brought a Sickness amongst those who last arrived from *England*, by putting them to an unnecessary and most extravagant Fatigue, in building a Pleasure-house for him in the Woods.

THE Discontent was so universal, that nothing else could appease them, but the deposing of the President, and putting Captain *Smith* (whose Turn it was to succeed) in his Room; which being done, the Captain substituted his good Friend Mr. *Scrivener*, to be his Deputy; and having changed most of the under Servants, and given proper Directions for the future, to deliver out the Provision to the People more equally, the new President left them to enjoy a little Rest, and

and to nurse one another, while himself, with twelve more in the Barge, went out a second Time to finish his Discovery of *Cheasapeak* Bay.

THEY departed from *James Town* the 24th of *July*, 1608. and directed their Course strait up to the Head of the Bay of *Cheasapeak*, where they met with several Troops of *Indians* in their Canoes ; with whom they had some Skirmishes at first, but afterwards parted seemingly good Friends.

AT the Bottom of the Bay, they found it divided itself into four Branches ; of which the great River *Susquahamah* was the most considerable. A numerous Nation of stout *Indians*, that were settled above the Falls of this River, came down to visit them, and paid them great Respect. From hence they return'd to the River *Pottuxen*, where they had a friendly Intercourse with the Natives ; then proceeded to *Potowmack*, and from that to *Rappahannock*, where they had a warm Dispute with the King of a stubborn Nation, whom they at last vanquish'd, and brought to Terms of Peace. Such of their Company as came last from *Europe*, and had not yet been season'd to the Climate, fell sick, of whom however they lost none but Mr. *Fetherstone*, who was buried at this Place ; from *Rappahannock* they came to *Piankotank*, and in a dangerous Storm of Thunder, Wind, and Rain, they at last arrived at *Point Comfort* in the Mouth of *James River* ; from whence they went up to discover a small River on the South Shore, called *Nansamund*, where they found many Corn-fields ; but the River being narrow, they were attacked on each Side by the *Indians* from the Shore, and behind by a Fleet of Canoes. Yet sheltering themselves from the *Indian* Arrows, by fixing up
Targets

Targets round the Gunnel of the Barge, they soon put the *Indians* to Flight with their Fire-Arms, and so got Possession of all their Canoes ; which obliged them to sue for Peace, and to redeem their Boats, by giving the *English* as much Corn as they could carry off, and such other Provision as they had ; with which they return'd to *James Town* on the 7th Day of *September*, where they found, by Mr. *Scrivener's* Care and Industry, the Harvest had been well got in, but the Provision in the Store was somewhat damaged with Rain, many of the People dead, and some sick ; which Misfortunes, and the whole Neglect of the Summer, were all imputed to the supine ill Conduct of their late President Captain *Ratcliff*, who was then under Confinement for Mutiny.

THIS was the Situation of Affairs on the 10th Day of *September*, when the Council proceeded to the formal Election of a President ; and by unanimous Consent the Letters Patents were deliver'd to Captain *Smith*, a Man every way qualified to discharge that important Trust.

THINGS now began to take a different Turn ; for instead of finishing *Ratcliff's* fine Palace, the Church was rebuilt, the Fort thoroughly repaired, and reduced into the Form of a Pentagon ; the Store-house was enlarged to receive the Supplies that were daily expected ; the Disposition of the Guard was better regulated, and all the Men fit to carry Arms were exercised every *Saturday* : The Boats were likewise trimm'd up for a Trading Voyage, and sent out under the Command of Lieutenant *Percy* ; but he accidentally meeting with the second Supply from *England*, Captain *Newport*, whose Head was full of Projects, brought back the People to assist him in his intended Discoveries.

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THERE were at this time one hundred and thirty Persons remaining in the Colony, when Captain *Newport* arriv'd with about seventy more, chiefly Artificers ; and particularly some *Polanders* and *Dutchmen*, to make Pitch, Tar, Pot-Ash, Glafs, &c. and to build Mills, and other Machines, for carrying on these several Manufactures ; they having conceiv'd such imaginary Hopes in *England* of the immense Profit these Commodities would immediately produce, that they forgot to begin with the necessary Precaution of either causing to be rais'd in the Country, or sending from *Europe*, Provision sufficient to maintain so great a Number of People ; and the Vanity of Captain *Newport's* Conduct at this time was so ridiculous that he had not only procur'd to himself a particular Commission to bring over with him a Lump of solid Gold, and to make a full Discovery of the Country of *Manacan*, where it was suppos'd to grow ; but likewise, before he return'd, to find out a Passage over the Mountains to the South-Sea, bringing with him in Pieces a fine Pinnacle, to be carried over Land for that Purpose ; and in his Way, it was believed he would certainly find some of the People, who had belong'd to Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Company.

IN order to enable the Captain to execute these Things more effectually, he had brought with him a magnificent Present for the Emperor *Powhatton*, consisting of an Imperial Crown, a Bed, Bedstead and Cloaths, with a curious Basin and Ewer ; so that great Preparations were made for the Solemnity of *Powhatton's* Coronation, not doubting in the least to gain thereby the sincere Affection, and ready Assistance, of that haughty *Indian*.

THE

THE Majority of the Council, and the Generality of the People, were so intoxicated with these glittering Schemes, that the President *Smith's* Objections to them were over-ruled, and one hundred and twenty Men were appointed for Captain *Newport's* Guard, in his intended Expedition, and ceremonious Visit to *Powhatan*; but the President prudently considering, how much Time would be idly spent in this Journey by so great a Number of Hands, offer'd himself, with only four others in Company, to go on a Message to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him of the Presents that were sent him by Captain *Newport*, and to invite him down to receive them at *James Town*; accordingly he went over by Land to *Werocomaco*, passing the River *Pawmonkee* in a Canoe.

CAPTAIN *Smith* on his Arrival was elegantly entertain'd by the Princess *Pocobuntas*, who sent for her Father, being then thirty Miles off; and the next Day, when *Powhatan* return'd, the President deliver'd his Message, to which the proud *Indian* made the following Answer; viz.

' IF your King has sent me Presents, I also am a King,
' and this is my Land; I will stay eight Days to receive
' them: But your Father (meaning Captain *Newport*) must
' come to me, not I to him; for I shall not come down
' to your Port, nor be catch'd with such Baits; your In-
' quiry after the People that were lost so long ago, is vain;
' and as for the Stories you have heard, of Salt Water be-
' yond the Mountains, they are all false.' Hereupon he
began to draw on the Ground a rude Plan of the Situation
of the Country and Rivers behind the Mountains; and
after a great deal of Discourse on this Subject, and many

ceremonial Compliments had passed between them, Captain *Smith* return'd, and on reporting this Answer to the Council at *James Town*, the Presents were order'd to be sent by Water, which is near one hundred Miles, while the two Captains, *Smith* and *Newport*, with fifty Men, went by Land.

THE next Day after their Arrival at *Werecomaco*, was appointed for *Powhatton's* Coronation. When the Presents were all laid before him, they could by no Means persuade him to put on the Scarlet Cloak and Apparel, till his old Indian Servant *Namantack*, who had been in *England* with Captain *Newport*, assur'd him they could not hurt him; and it was a long time before they could prevail with him to bend his Knee but a very little, while they put the Crown on his Head; at which Instant, on a Signal given, all the *Englisk* made a close Fire, which made the Emperor start up in a terrible Fright; but when he found there was no Danger, he made them some small Acknowledgment, after his Manner of Expression, for the Honours conferr'd on him, giving his old Shoes and Mantle to Captain *Newport*, at the same time dissuading him from making any further Search after the Country of *Manacan*; and in Return for all these rich Presents only gave Captain *Newport* a few Ears of Corn, amounting to the Quantity of seven or eight Bushels, with which they returned to the Fort.

CAPTAIN *Newport* was still so intent on discovering Gold Mines, and imaginary Riches, that one hundred and twenty chosen Men, under the Command of Captain *Waldo*, and others, were appointed to attend him on his Journey Westward, to the fam'd Country of *Manacan*, while the industrious

industrious President was left at the Fort, with about eighty or ninety of the weakest Hands to relade the Ship.

AFTER *Newport* and his Company had spent their Time idly, hunting after Mines, and making many fruitless Trials, in digging and melting a Variety of Stuff they pick'd out of the Earth, they return'd to *James Town*, half sick, and all much fatigued, without having had any Traffick with the *Indians*, who refus'd to trade with them, hiding all their Corn in the Woods, so that Provisions became exceeding scarce.

IN this Extremity the President dispos'd all Things in the best Manner for dispatching the Ships, which lay at a great Expence, consuming their little Remainder of Provisions; those that were fit for it he set to making Glasse, Tar, Pitch, Pot-Ash, &c. and leaving the Business at the Fort under the Direction of the Council, he went himself with about thirty Hands, most of them Gentlemen, unus'd to Labour, to cut down Trees in the Woods, and make Clapboards, wherein they succeeded wonderfully; for the President's laborious Example made them all bear the Fatigue with Pleasure and Content.

WHEN the President return'd to the Fort, tho' he found them all employed in one Thing or other, yet still there was no Care taken for a farther Supply of Corn and Bread; he therefore immediately imbark'd on Board the *Discovery-Barge*, taking another along with him, and ordering the Council to send Lieutenant *Percy* in a third Boat after him to *Chickahominy*; where, as soon as he arriv'd, that stubborn Nation being well appriz'd of the Wants the *English* were reduc'd to, not only refus'd to trade, but scornfully insulted and

and contemned them ; yet brave Captain *Smith*, perceiving by their Behaviour, that it was a Fetch in *Powhatton's* Policy to starve them, plainly told the *Indians*, that his principal Business there was to resent the ill Usage he met with at the time they took him Prisoner, and to revenge the Death of his two Men, whom they had murder'd ; and immediately landing his People, and preparing that Instant to attack them, they presently fled, and soon after sent Embassadors with Presents of Corn, Fish and Fowl, to sue for Peace ; and having loaded the President's two Boats, and also Lieutenant *Percy's*, with Corn, and such other Things as they had to content them, they took a friendly Leave of each other, the President returning with this little Supply to *James Town*, where the Generality of the People, who were in Dread of being starved, made them very welcome. But some of the Council, who much envy'd the President's Success, were stung to the quick at the universal Applause given to his Conduct ; in Despite of which, *Newport* and *Ratcliff*, observing that he often left the Fort on Business, without any formal Leave of the Council, form'd a Project to shut him out, on Pretence that he neglected his Duty and Character ; yet their Plot not only miscarried, but had like to have fallen heavy on their own Heads ; for about this time it was discover'd, that great Abuses were committed by the Sailors, Soldiers, and others of the lower Rank, in pilfering all Manner of Tools and Utensils out of the publick Store, to exchange with the *Indians* ; whereby the Publick was not only robb'd, but the Natives were likewise encouraged to be faucy, and the Market quite spoilt ; and it even appear'd that these Disorders were encourag'd underhand by the Commanders and other Officers on Board the Ships, who grasp'd at an immoderate Gain by returning Goods privately to *England* for their own Account, notwithstanding they

they were at the same time plentifully supported both with Victuals and Wages by the Company at home.

To rectify this, new and very strict Regulations were made, in relation to the *Indian Trade*; and if Captain *Newport* had not submitted himself, the President was determin'd to have sent home the Ship under another Commander; but all these Things being at last quietly settled, *Newport* was dispatch'd with a Load of Wainscot Clap-boards, and such small Trials of Pitch and Tar, Glass, Pot-Ashes, Frankincense, &c. as they were able to make. At the same time the President sent the following Letter, directed to the Treasurer and Council for the Colony of *Virginia*, at *London*.

Right Honourable,

‘ I RECEIVED your Letter, wherein you write, that our
‘ Minds are set upon Faction and idle Conceits, in di-
‘ viding the Country without your Consent; and that we
‘ feed you with but Hopes, and a very few Proofs, as if we
‘ meant to keep the Mystery of Business to ourselves, com-
‘ manding us expressly to follow your Instructions sent by
‘ Captain *Newport*, the Charge of whose Voyage amounts
‘ to near two thousand Pounds, which you expect we are
‘ to pay by the Return of the Ships. To which Particulars
‘ I humbly intreat your Pardon, if I offend with my rude
‘ Answer.

‘ As to our Factions, unless you would have me run away,
‘ and leave the Country, I cannot prevent them; and with
‘ respect to that idle Letter about dividing the Country,
‘ which, it seems, was sent by the President and his Confe-
‘ derates to my Lord of *Salisbury*, I know nothing of it,
‘ neither

‘ neither were the Contents in any Shape communicated to
‘ me ; and as to feeding you with Hopes, I have told you
‘ nothing at any time, but such Things as I have truly dis-
‘ cover’d here myself at the Hazard of my Life ; neither have
‘ I concealed from you any Thing that I do know, altho’ I
‘ have Reason to think others have made you believe much
‘ more than is true.

‘ I OWN I was against following your Directions by
‘ Captain *Newport*, but nevertheless I submitted to be over-
‘ ruled by a Majority of the Council ; and *Powhatton* has
‘ been crowned according to your Directions.

‘ As to carrying the Boat you sent above the Falls over
‘ Mens Shoulders, if she was burnt to Ashes, and put into a
‘ Bag, it may be done, but otherwise impracticable ; and for
‘ Captain *Newport* to go and seek after a Gold Mine in the
‘ South-Sea, and to find any of the People formerly sent
‘ by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, it is equally impossible and ridicu-
‘ lous ; however the Captain had his Humour, having car-
‘ ried along with him into the Woods one hundred and
‘ twenty of the ablest of the People, whom he fatigued to
‘ no manner of Purpose, and brought them back almost
‘ all sick.

‘ I HAVE made what Progress I could in the new Ma-
‘ nufactures of Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Soap-Ash, and Clap-board ;
‘ but you must not expect that those poor People in a Wil-
‘ derness, without Bread to eat, or necessary Tools to work
‘ with, can make such Dispatch as may be done in *Sweden*
‘ and *Russia*, where that Sort of Business is by long Ex-
‘ perience brought to Perfection.

‘ BY

‘ By whose Advice you were drawn in to send such
 ‘ Presents to *Powhatton*, and to give him such a pompous
 ‘ Coronation, I know not ; but we have Cause here to ap-
 ‘ prehend, that it will soon bring very dangerous and fatal
 ‘ Consequences on this poor Handful of People. Captain
 ‘ *Newport* is suspected to be the Author of these silly In-
 ‘ ventions ; and as for Captain *Ratcliff*, now called *Sickle-*
 ‘ *mare*, and *Archer*, I have sent them home, lest the People
 ‘ here should cut their Throats ; and if you think fit to send
 ‘ them back, we can never be without a Faction. It is
 ‘ Carpenters, Husbandmen, Gardeners, Blacksmiths, and
 ‘ Masons, that we want, rather than such People as eat up
 ‘ all the Provisions, and spend their whole Time in vain
 ‘ silly Projects. These are the true Causes of our not be-
 ‘ ing as yet in a Condition to make Returns suitable to your
 ‘ Expence. So I humbly rest, &c.’

THE careful President, who was always watchful to pre-
 vent Famine, or an extreme Want among the People, went
 down the River in Company with Captain *Wynn*, and
 Mr. *Scrivener*, to *Nansamund* ; where the *Indians*, com-
 plaining of Want themselves, refus’d any Manner of Supply
 to the *English*, or to trade with them on any Terms. Here-
 upon the President saluted them with a Volly of Shot, and
 set Fire to one of their Houses ; which so alarmed them,
 that they begg’d Peace, and immediately brought down as
 much Corn as loaded all the three Boats ; so departing with
 the Supply, they return’d to *James Town*, where the first
 Marriage in *Virginia*, about this time, was consummated
 between *John Laydon* and *Anne Barrows*.

THE President, ever intent on losing no Time, went out again, in Company with Captain *Waldo*, and two Barges ; but the Natives, jealous of their Intentions, were every-where fled from their Habitations, till they happen'd to discover the River and People of *Appamattock*, who divided what little Corn they had in Trade with them ; but Mr. *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percy*, who went out on the same Account, had no manner of Success, returning with their Boats quite empty.

SOON after this, that crafty *Indian Powhatton* sent an Invitation to the President to come to him ; and if in the mean time he would please to send some of his Men to build him a House, together with a Grind-stone, fifty Swords, as many Pikes, and a Cock and Hen, he would trade with the *English* for a Ship-Load of Corn. The President, fully appriz'd of the subtle *Indian's* Craft and Treachery, dissembled his real Purpose, and accordingly sent two *Dutch* and two *English* Carpenters, as *Powhatton* desir'd, promising to follow himself ; but having, in the Extremity they were in, form'd a Project of seizing *Powhatton*, and forcing from him a sufficient Quantity of Corn, to put off the Severity of the Winter Season, he pitched upon Captain *Waldo* as a Man he could depend on to second him in this bold Attempt. However Mr. *Scrivener* and Captain *Wynn*, who envy'd Captain *Smith's* superior Fortune and Conduct, and had lately sent home gross Misrepresentations under-hand against him, openly opposed this Design in the Council, tho' to very little Purpose ; for the Danger of starving was so imminent, and Captain *Smith's* Resolution so well fix'd, that after having well concerted his Measures with Captain *Waldo*, he left Mr. *Scrivener* his Deputy at
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the Fort, as usual ; and with forty-six of the ablest and best Men, who voluntarily enlisted themselves to go with him, imbarck'd himself with that Company on the Pinnace, and two Barges, and came the first Night to *Warraskoyock*, where that good-natur'd King furnish'd him with some Provisions, and express'd his Friendship, first, by endeavouring to dissuade him from going to *Powhatton* ; but finding he could not prevail, frankly told the President, That notwithstanding *Powhatton* seemingly might treat him kindly, yet he advis'd him by no means to trust him, or give him any Opportunity of seizing his Arms ; for he was assur'd, he only sent for him with a Design to betray him. The President return'd the *Indian* Thanks for his good Advice, and departed on his Route ; but by the Means of contrary Winds, and the Extremity of the Weather, they did not arrive at *Werocomaco* till the 12th of *January*, when the River being frozen almost half a Mile from the Shore, the President with twelve Hands could only approach with the Barge, which being left a-ground by the Ebb Tide, they waded up to the Middle through the Mud, after the President's Example, who never dally'd with Time.

THEY took up their Quarters in the first House they came to, and having sent to *Powhatton* for Provision, he order'd them great Plenty of Bread, Turkies, and Venison ; but when he came next Day himself, he ask'd the President when he intended to return, denying that ever he sent for him, or that he or his People had any Corn to spare ; and when the President confronted him with the Messenger who had brought his Invitation, he only laugh'd, and demanded where were their Goods ; which being produc'd, he said he wanted nothing but Guns and Swords, refusing to

traffick for any thing else; on which the President spoke as follows :

‘ *POWHATTON*, I could have furnish’d myself with
 ‘ what Provision I want a great many Ways; but I was
 ‘ willing to oblige you before all others, and made not the
 ‘ least Doubt, but that I might depend on the Performance
 ‘ of any Thing you promis’d. I think I gave a sufficient
 ‘ Testimony of my Friendship, by neglecting my own
 ‘ Work, and sending my Men to build you a House; in
 ‘ Return for all my Kindness, I find you are resolved not
 ‘ to trade with us, but on the most unreasonable and extra-
 ‘ vagant Terms. As for Swords and Guns, I told you some
 ‘ time ago, that I had none to spare; those I have shall find
 ‘ me Provisions, without being oblig’d to you; for I am
 ‘ not come here to use many Words, or lose my Time;
 ‘ neither am I willing to dissolve the Friendship that has
 ‘ been mutually contracted between us, unless you force me
 ‘ to it by ill Usage.’

THE *Indian* King, giving great Attention to what the President said, made Answer,

THAT he and his People intended to give him all the Corn they could spare, and that in two Days Time it should be brought to him; ‘ But, says he, Captain *Smith*, I do not
 ‘ like your coming here with your People arm’d; for I am
 ‘ inform’d your Intention is not so much to trade, as to
 ‘ invade me and my People, and to take Possession of my
 ‘ Country. If you would convince me therefore, that your
 ‘ Friendship is real, order your Men, when they come on
 ‘ Shore, to leave their Arms behind them; we shall then
 ‘ be sincere Friends, and all *Powhattons*.’

ALL

ALL that Day was spent in Discourses of the like Nature, between the King and the President, who with the Twelve that were with him lodg'd that Night in *Powhatton's* House. The next Day they went to view the new Building, which was intended only as a Feint to cover bad Designs; for the subtle *Indian* had treated the *Dutchmen* so kindly, and with so great a Plenty of every Thing, that he had wholly gain'd them to his Interest, infomuch that he communicated to them his Design of destroying all the *English*; and they judging that such an Event could not be avoided, went into every Thing he propos'd, or they themselves could devise, to effect it; a most flagrant Proof how much unnatural Cruelty Men are capable of, when prompted thereto only by an accidental Disappointment of fully enjoying their most brutal Appetites.

IT was a monstrous Aggravation of this Treachery in one of the *Dutchmen*, that he seeming to be a Man of some Judgment, Spirit and Resolution, the President had actually employ'd him as a Spy on *Powhatton's* Conduct, from whence he thought more certainly to discover the *Indian's* Intentions; but so artful and circumspect were these Foreigners in their Behaviour and Management, that it was near six Months before their Treason happen'd to be discover'd.

WHILE the President waited for the *Indians* coming in to trade, he sold *Powhatton* a Copper-Kettle for ten Quarters of Corn; and conversing familiarly together, the King express'd himself after the following Manner:

' CAPTAIN *Smith*, you must understand, that I have liv'd
' to see three Generations of my People; and therefore
' know

' know the Difference between Peace and War, better than
 ' any of them that are now living ; and tho' I am old, and
 ' must die, yet there are three who in Course will succeed
 ' me, *Opitchapam*, *Ophacancanough*, and my two Sisters, and
 ' their Children. I wish their Experience was equal to
 ' mine, and your Love to them no less than mine to you ;
 ' but we are so alarmed with Stories from *Nansamund*, that
 ' you are come to conquer this Country, and destroy my
 ' People, that they are afraid to approach you. How can
 ' it be your Interest to take that by Force, which you may
 ' quietly possess by Love ; and to destroy them, by whose
 ' Labour you are fed ? And supposing you do go to War
 ' with us, you know we can hide our Corn, and fly to the
 ' Woods, where we are accustomed to live on Acorns, and
 ' such wild Stuff as we can find, while you must perish for
 ' Want of our Assistance. When any of my People come
 ' to visit you, they are unarm'd, and void of Suspicion ; why
 ' therefore are you so mistrustful, as to come to us with
 ' your Guns and Swords, as if you were to engage your
 ' Enemy ? Lay aside therefore your Jealousy, and by treat-
 ' ing us with more Confidence, you will secure a yearly
 ' Supply of Corn, to your Content.' To which artful
 Discourse the President thus reply'd :

' SEEING, *Powhatton*, that you perversely misconstrue
 ' our Words, we must endeavour to convince you by our
 ' Actions : It is well known, that the Friendship I vow'd
 ' to you has been inviolably kept, both by myself, and all
 ' my People, whereas, on the contrary, your solemn Pro-
 ' mises have been daily broken by you, or some of your
 ' Subjects. Had we not curb'd our just Resentment from
 ' taking a proper Revenge for every Injury that has been
 ' done to the *English* since their Arrival here, you and your
 ' People

‘ People would long before now have felt the Smart of our
‘ treating you like Enemies ; but you still possess a large
‘ Share of our Friendship, as appears by the *Indians* com-
‘ ing daily to *James Town* with their Bows and Arrows,
‘ which we little regard, because we look on a Man’s Arms
‘ to be Part of his Apparel : Assure yourself the *English*
‘ know not what it is to fear Danger, and are never better
‘ pleased than when they are chastising their Enemies.
‘ Your Riches we do not want, and as for hiding your Corn,
‘ or withdrawing from us into the Woods, we value it not,
‘ since we do not depend on you for Subsistence ; but have
‘ many ways of furnishing ourselves with Provisions, which
‘ you neither know or understand.’

THEY continued after this Manner, sometimes talking,
and at other times trading together, till at last the King, per-
ceiving his Discourse had not produc’d the Effect he in-
tended, by persuading Captain *Smith* to dismiss the Guard,
and disarm his Men, he fetch’d a deep Sigh, and pro-
ceeded thus :

‘ I HAVE used you, Captain *Smith*, with greater Kind-
‘ ness than ever I did any Warowance, or great Man, before,
‘ and you make but very poor Returns to my Friendship.
‘ Captain *Newport* gave me Swords, Copper, Bed-Cloaths,
‘ and what else I could desire, taking in Exchange no more
‘ than I pleased to offer him. At my Entreaty he even sent
‘ away his Guards, and I never met with any one, but your-
‘ self, who refus’d to obey me, and do whatever I desir’d.
‘ I get nothing from you but Trifles of little Value, when
‘ at the same time you demand and will have just what
‘ you please. You style Captain *Newport* Father, and so
‘ likewise you do me ; yet you act as you please, and we
‘ must

‘ must both submit to content you : But if you are sincere
 ‘ in what you profess, send away your armed Men, and
 ‘ then I shall believe you ; for you may see the Love I bear
 ‘ to you, by the Nakedness wherewith I put myself in
 ‘ your Power.

THE President observing *Powhatton's* villainous Intent, dissembled in his Turn ; and while he prevailed with some *Indians* to break the Ice, on Pretence that the Boat might come on Shore, to fetch him, and the Corn which he had purchased, away, he gave secret Orders to land a sufficient Number of Men, with Design to seize the King ; and the better to conceal his Purpose, he in the mean time address'd himself to *Powhatton*, as follows :

‘ *POWHATTON*, please to know, that I worship
 ‘ only one God, and serve but one King : I am not there-
 ‘ fore here as your Subject, but as a Friend to serve you in
 ‘ what I can. You cannot but be sensible, that you have
 ‘ gain'd more by your Presents to the *English*, than by your
 ‘ dealing in Trade ; for it is not our Custom to sell Friend-
 ‘ ship, like any other Commodity. When you come to
 ‘ visit us, you may, if you please, bring all your Country
 ‘ arm'd, for your Guard ; and to convince you, that we
 ‘ are Strangers to Jealousy or Fear, I purpose To-morrow
 ‘ to leave my Arms, and once more trust to your Promise.
 ‘ I call you Father, it is true, and as a Father I will treat
 ‘ you ; notwithstanding you seem to take but very little
 ‘ Care of me, as your Child ; and therefore I must not
 ‘ wholly neglect myself.’

THE King, understanding that his Men were ready to execute his Purpose of killing the President, privately
 withdrew

withdrew from the Room, where Captain *Smith* and *John Russel* were talking with two or three Women, left there purely to amuse them ; and the Moment that *Pow-batton* and his Family were fled out of Sight, the House was beset, when the President, rushing out with his Pistol, Sword and Target, immediately fired, and made such a vigorous Pass amongst those naked Devils, that they tumbled over one another, and dispersed in an Instant ; which gave the President and Mr. *Russel* the Opportunity to join the rest of their People, consisting only of eighteen Men, that were yet on Shore.

WHEN they found Captain *Smith* was safe, they endeavour'd to dissemble the Matter, and to excuse *Pow-batton's* Flight : He sent an Orator with the Present of a large Bracelet, and a String of Pearl, who spoke after this Manner :

‘ CAPTAIN *Smith*, Our King foreseeing that as soon as
‘ the Ice was broken, more armed Men would come on
‘ Shore, he thought proper to retire, and sent those that
‘ were here to guard his Corn from being stolen, which
‘ might happen without your Knowledge : Now tho’ some
‘ *Indians* are wounded through your Mistake, yet *Pow-*
‘ *batton* is still your Friend, and resolved to continue so ;
‘ wherefore, since the Ice is broken, he wishes you would
‘ send away your Corn, and if you desire his Company,
‘ you must send away your Guns also ; which so frighten
‘ his People, that they dare not come to trade with you, as
‘ he promised they should.’

THEY had provided Baskets for the *English*, to carry the Corn to their Boats, and officiously offer'd themselves in the mean time to guard the Arms, lest any of them should be
O stolen ;

stolen ; but when they observed the *English* Matches cocked all ready to fire, they condescended to leave their Bows and Arrows with the *English* Guard, and made great Dispatch to carry down the Corn on their Backs. Yet the Ebb-Tide having left the Barges a-ground, they were all obliged to stay for high Water, and so return'd to their old Quarters.

POWHATTON and the *Dutchmen* at this time + were very busy, contriving still how to effect their Purpose of killing the President ; who only, as they thought, stood in the Way of their hellish Designs. The *Indians*, with all the merry Sports they could devise, spent the Time till Night, when they withdrew, and return'd to *Powhatton*, who was making every Thing ready to surround the House, and surprize Captain *Smith*, while he was at Supper. But + Providence once more interposed in his Favour, and sent that humane Creature, the Princess *Pocobuntas*, who ventured herself in a dark Night through the Woods, to advertise the President, that her Father was preparing to send him an elegant Supper ; but in case the People that brought it should miscarry, in executing the Orders they had received to kill him while he was eating, then the King, with all the Forces he could raise, was in Readiness to attack him, and to cut them all off.

THIS incomparable Lady, with a tender Flood of Tears, told her Story in so moving a Manner, still beseeching Captain *Smith* to be gone, that the generous President used all possible Means to comfort her, and offer'd several valuable Presents, which she refused, saying that she was a dead Woman, if any such Thing could be found about her. So she departed, unobserved by any of her Father's People ;
and

and in an Hour's Time came eight or ten lusty tall *Indians*, loaded with Platters full of Venison, and other Food; they were very importunate to have the President and his Company sit down to their Supper, intreating at the same time, that he would order the Matches to be put out, alledging that the Smoak made them sick; but instead of that the President obliged each of them to taste of every Dish they had brought; and then order'd them back to tell *Powhatton*, that he was ready for his coming with all the Force he could bring. As for you, says the President, I know you were commanded to kill me as I sat at Supper; but I shall prevent that, and all your Master's other villainous Projects; so get you gone, and tell him what I say.

ALL the Night long, Messengers were still coming and going, to bring Intelligence; but finding that the *English* were as vigilant as they, the time passed in good Fellowship, without an Offence offer'd on either Side; and in the Morning at High-Water the President, before his Departure, sent his Compliments to *Powhatton*, telling him, That he had left *Edward Brinton* to kill Fowl for him, and the *Dutchmen* to finish his House, their Treachery not being as yet in the least suspected; and the President chose the rather to go off in this easy Manner, because he fully intended, when the Frost was gone, to return and chastise this insolent proud *Indian* as he deserved.

THE President and his Company were no sooner gone than *Powhatton* return'd, and after consulting with his new Allies the *Dutchmen*, how to carry on his deceitful Schemes, he prevail'd with two of them, *Adam* and *Francis*, who were fittest for the Purpose, to go to *James Town* with a pretended Message from the President to bring to him some

fresh Arms, and at the same time to provide themselves with a few necessary Tools they wanted to carry on their Work.

THIS plausible Errand was readily believed at the Fort; but not contented with receiving from Captain *Wynn* all the Things they desired, they further pursued their Villainy, by drawing six or seven more into their Confederacy, who stole, and secretly furnish'd them with Swords, Pike-heads, Gun-Powder and Shot, &c. which they conveyed away to *Powhatton*, by the Help of some *Indians*, who were lurking hard by for that Purpose.

THOSE Villains, before they left *James Town*, had concerted with their Confederates to follow them in a short time; for besides that the Colony was truly in a starving Condition, they had represented *Powhatton's* extraordinary Kindness to them in so favourable a Light, and the Certainty of his Success in destroying all the *English*, that their Friends made no Hesitation to accept the Party; and so they return'd clear of all Suspicion to *Powhatton*, who had cautiously kept their Comrade *Samuel* as a Pledge, and employed him so well, that he had already made for him one hundred Hatchets, fifty Swords, eight Guns, and as many Pikes.

BRINTON and *Richard Savage*, two *Englishmen*, who had been left with *Powhatton*, perceiving the *Dutchmen* so diligent and officious to provide the *Indians* with all kind of Weapons, attempted to make their Escape to *James Town*; but were unfortunately apprehended and confined, expecting every Moment to be put to Death.

AT

AT this time the President, who was chiefly anxious to provide a sufficient Supply of Corn, took his Route towards *Pawmonkie*, where he arrived in two or three Days, and as many more were spent on Board, feasting merrily with the King ; but on the Day appointed for beginning to trade, when the President, together with fifteen of his Company, had gone up half a Mile from the River to the King's House, they found it stripped of every Thing, and no body there except an old lame Man and a Boy. However in a short time the King arrived, and brought divers of his People along with him, loaded with Bows, Arrows, and such sort of Merchandize, as they knew the *English* did not want ; so the President finding that they kept up their Commodities at so high a Rate, as if they did not really intend to deal, he address'd the King in this Manner :

‘ *OPOCHANCANOUGH*, the great Love you express with your Tongue does not seem to correspond with your Actions: Last Year you very kindly filled my Ship with Corn, but now you have invited me to starve. You very well know my Want, and I am not ignorant of your Plenty ; remember, it is fit that Kings should keep their Promises. Here are my Commodities before you ; take such as you like, and I will proportion out the rest in fit Bargains for your People, as I please.’

THE King seem'd kindly to accept the President's Offer, and the better to colour their Intent, they sold what they had there at a very low Rate, and promised that a larger Company should come better provided the next Day ; at which time the President having committed the Charge of the Pinnace and Barges to Mr. *Phettiplace*, he with his
fifteen

fifteen Companions marched up again to the King's House, where they found four or five Men newly arrived, having each a large Basket; and immediately after came *Opochanough* himself, who in a strain'd Chearfulness entertain'd the President with a long Discourse of the Pains he had taken to keep his Promise, when all of a sudden Mr. *Ruffel*, running hastily up to the President, told him, they were betrayed; for that seven hundred *Indians*, well armed, had surrounded the House, and beset the Fields all about. The King, conjecturing what *Ruffel* said, could not conceal in his Countenance the Extremity of his Fear; but the President, with much Coolness, address'd himself in few Words to his fifteen Companions; and after putting them in Mind of his former Escape, when he was alone, amongst many Hundreds of these cowardly People, he asked if they would stand by him, to which they all answer'd, They would, or die on the Spot. Then the President spoke to the King, as follows:

‘*OPOCHANCA NOUGH*, I plainly see your Intent,
 ‘ but at the same time I fear you not; our Men as yet have
 ‘ done no Harm, and if you have the Courage that belongs
 ‘ to a King, you and I will go by ourselves to yonder
 ‘ Island in the Middle of the River, with equal Arms, and
 ‘ decide the Matter: Let every *Indian* you have under
 ‘ your Command, bring a Basket of Corn, against which I
 ‘ will deposite all my Commodities; so let the Conqueror
 ‘ between us two take all, and do as he pleases.’

THE deceitful *Indian*, under the Pretence of Kindness, to remove Captain *Smith's* Suspicion, had caused a large Present to be brought to the Door, which the Captain was intreated to receive, thinking thereby to have killed him as he went out;

out ; but instead of that, the brave President order'd two of his stoutest Men to guard the Door, and commanded the rest to clear the Room, while he himself at that Instant laid hold of the King by the Hair of his Head, and clapping a Pistol to his Breast, he dragged him about almost half dead with Fear ; and then made the following Speech to the People :

‘ *PAWMONKIES*, I perceive it is nothing but my
‘ Patience, and too long Forbearance, that has encouraged
‘ you to make this insolent Attempt on my Life. I do not
‘ forget the Promise and Vow which I made before the
‘ God I worship, to be your Friend ; but now you are be-
‘ come such Fools as to give me just Cause to be your Ene-
‘ my. I know, if I keep that Vow, God will preserve me ;
‘ and if I break it unjustly, he will destroy me. Take heed
‘ therefore what you do ; for if you shoot but one Arrow to
‘ hurt me, or any of my Men, I shall never cease pursuing
‘ Revenge, as long as I can find an *Indian* who refuses to
‘ deny the very Name of *Pawmonkie*. I am not now
‘ drown’d in Mud, as I was when you took me Prisoner ;
‘ and yet methinks, I have still so kind a Remembrance of
‘ your good Usage at that time, and of your faithfully
‘ keeping your Promise in saving my Life, that a simple
‘ Denial of your Treachery would almost persuade me even
‘ to forgive you now. But what Need of all this Discourse,
‘ if it is me only you aim at ? Here I stand before you, let
‘ him that dare, shoot, and take what follows. You know
‘ you have promised, before I depart, to load my Ship with
‘ Corn ; and so you shall, else I mean to load her with your
‘ dead Carcasses : Yet, if you will consider better of it, and
‘ come into a friendly Trade and Correspondence again, I
‘ once more promise to be your Friend, and to release your
‘ King ;

‘ King ; for I come not hither with Intent to hurt him, or
 ‘ any of you.’

IMMEDIATELY one and all of them flung down their Arms ; Men, Women and Children brought in their Commodities to trade, and sold them at what Rate the *English* pleased to take them. But by this time the President was so fatigued, that he retir’d to take a little Rest, when some *Indians* perceiving that he was fast asleep, and the Guard carelessly dispersed, forty or fifty stout Fellows, each with a Club or an *English* Sword in his Hand, rushed into the Room, with such a Crowd behind to support them, that the Noise awaken’d Captain *Smith*, who presently flew to his Arms ; and with the Assistance only of two or three of his own People, he quickly forced them to throng faster out than they came in ; and hereupon the King, attended by some of his ancient Chiefs, made a long Oration to excuse the Interruption given ; Presents were renew’d, and the short time they remain’d together, was spent in a friendly Commerce, to both their Contents.

WHILE the President was thus employ’d, there happen’d an unfortunate Accident at the Fort ; Mr. *Scrivener* † being too much elated with an Increase of Power, and large Promises which he had lately received by Letters from *England*, took every Occasion to thwart Captain *Smith*, and oppose all his Designs. With this View, a few Days after the President’s Departure, he took it in his Head to go on an Expedition in a small Boat, to an Island in *James* River, called the Isle of *Hogs* ; and altho’ the President expected Captain *Waldo* to be ready on a Call to follow him, in order to support his intended Attack on *Powhatan*, yet Mr. *Scrivener* insisted, that Captain *Waldo*, Mr. *Antony Gossnel*, and
 eight

eight more, should go along with him. Accordingly, they went out in the midst of extreme cold and bad Weather; and whether it was that the Boat was over-loaded, or by Means of the high Winds, is uncertain, but they all perished; and the *Indians* first discover'd their dead Bodies, which, no Doubt, gave some Encouragement to their Insolence about that time. It was necessary however, that the President should be advertised of this melancholy Event; but every one at the Fort, to whom it was propos'd, excus'd himself, until Mr. *Richard Wyffin* alone undertook to perform that hazardous Journey: He lodged the first Night in the Territory of *Powhatton*, where the good Lady *Pocobuntas* concealed him, and sent those who pursu'd him the quite contrary Way; at last by her Means, and the Effect of a good many Bribes, he was enabled to proceed, and on the third Day found the President, who conjured him to conceal his Story from the rest of the Company; and so, when Night approached, the sorrowful President, dissembling his Grief, went safely on Board the Pinnace with all his People, leaving *Opochancanough* at Liberty, as he had promis'd; and from thence they went back to *Werocomaco*, where, tho' *Powhatton* had been very busy, making great Preparation for War, yet on the President's Approach, all the Country came in, without Arms, to trade.

NEXT Morning by Sun-rise the Fields were cover'd with People, having their full Baskets all painted, in order to tempt Captain *Smith* on Shore; for without his Presence they peremptorily refused to deal, and at the same time declared they could not bear the Sight of a Gun.

THE President at last observing that they began to depart, and unwilling to lose the Opportunity of this Market,
P after

after he had contrived to hide his Men in the Pinnace and Barges, himself, only with three more, went on Shore in Arms, and a few he had appointed without Arms to receive what the *Indians* brought. They immediately flocked about Captain *Smith*, who refused to go to *Powhatton*; wherefore the King observing most of the *English*, that were in Sight, unarmed, he came down to the President with about two or three hundred Men in the Form of two half Moons, before whom came twenty Women with painted Baskets, who, as soon as the Men approached, flung their Baskets on the Ground, and run away; and having in this Manner beset the Field all around, *Powhatton* thought himself sure of the Blow. But the wary President at this time only moved himself a little about, until he had brought the Body of the *Indians* right opposite to his Men in Ambush; and then giving the Word of Command, the *English* advanced from behind the Bank of the River, with their Matches already cock'd, on which the *Indians* instantly fled like so many Sheep, and left the President quietly to retire to his Barge.

At Night the President sent Mr. *Crasshaw*, and Mr. *Ford*, to *James Town* with a Message to Captain *Wynn*; and in the way they accidentally met with five of the *Dutchmens* Confederates going to *Powhatton*; but, to avoid Suspicion, they thought fit to return with the Messengers to the Fort.

THE *Indians* imagin'd, that Captain *Smith* had sent for more Men, and began to be terribly afraid, that he would burn their Houses, and destroy all their Fishing-Wires, as he had often threatened; to prevent which *Powhatton* the next Day sent him a Chain of Pearl, intreating him to stop the coming of more Men, and desist from his Purpose; on which

which Condition the King promised, even if they should want themselves, to bring as much Corn on Board as would load his Ship ; and accordingly, in five or six Days Time, they brought the Corn on their Backs from all Parts, and carry'd it on Board very chearfully.

THEY went from hence, a little further amongst some neighbouring *Indians*, in quest of Corn, which at that time was very scarce with the Natives themselves ; and in this Trip the President, Mr. *West*, and two or three more had like to have been artificially poison'd with a Present : But as it happen'd to work itself off, Captain *Smith* chose rather to despise the Attempt, than to avenge it ; for had he not thus dissembled with the *Indians*, but proceeded on every Occasion to punish them according to their Deserts, they would certainly have moved to a greater Distance with their Corn, whereby the *English* at that Season of the Year must have perished for Want ; besides the President was cautious of giving *Powhatton* any Suspicion to occasion his Flight ; for he was determined to find some Opportunity to be revenged of that old Fox ; and for that Purpose he strait return'd by the way of *Werocomaco*, where as soon as they arrived, the President sent Mr. *Wyffin* and Mr. *Coe* on Shore, to bring him Intelligence ; but to their great Surprise, they found *Powhatton*, by the Advice of his *Dutch* Counsellors, had removed with all his Effects, and left his new House ; so, finding there was nothing more to be done there at this time, they sailed directly for *James Town*, with a pretty considerable, and no less welcome Supply of Corn, &c.

THE first Thing the President did after his Return, was to examine the Stores ; and altho' what remain'd of the last

Summer's Provision was very much spoil'd with the Rats, yet it was found they had enough to keep them from the Danger of starving, till next Harvest. However the President taking on himself the sole Administration, and being resolved to encourage Industry, and totally to suppress Idleness, and all Manner of factious Disputes, he divided the People into small Companies, to be continually employed in some Business or other, and then spoke to them as follows :

‘ IF the Miseries and Wants you have suffer'd, are not
 ‘ sufficient to inspire you with more Industry for the Time
 ‘ to come, you may at least be assured, that neither the
 ‘ Company's Money at Home, nor my Labour here, shall
 ‘ be spent to maintain you in Sloth and Idleness. I am
 ‘ sensible, there are some amongst you that want no Re-
 ‘ proof, but on the contrary deserve Applause, and a better
 ‘ Reward than the Meanness of our Circumstances will yet
 ‘ afford ; but it is out of all Reason, that the hard Labour
 ‘ of thirty or forty honest industrious Men should be con-
 ‘ sumed in maintaining one hundred and fifty idle Loiterers.
 ‘ And however formerly some of you have been encouraged
 ‘ to contradict my Orders, by those of the Council who are
 ‘ not now in the Way, to foment factious Discontents,
 ‘ know, that as long as the Power and chief Direction con-
 ‘ tinues with me, I will be obey'd; and that there may be no
 ‘ Pretence to flight my Authority, the Letters Patents shall
 ‘ be read to you every Week; for he that eats, if he is able,
 ‘ shall work; and he that dares wilfully to disobey, or offend,
 ‘ may assuredly expect to meet with due Correction.’

To encourage the Diligent, as well as to punish the Slothful, an exact Account was kept of every Man's Day's Work, and each Individual was sure to be treated according to his
 Merit ;

Merit; yet still the *Dutchmens* Confederates found Means to convey privately out of the Store, to their Companions, Powder, Shot, Swords and Tools, without being discovered. But those of them, who remained with *Powhatton* to teach his People the Use of Fire-Arms, being uneasy that their Confederates at *James Town* had not yet deserted the *English*, and come up to them, according to their Promise, sent one of their Number, called *Francis*, disguised like an *Indian*, to the Glass-House, about a short Mile from the Fort, to learn what was the Occasion of their Disappointment; and they contrived at the same time, that forty or fifty *Indians* should lie in Ambush hard by, in Hopes to meet with the President, as he often walked about from one Place to another by himself.

THE President having some Intelligence of this *Dutchman* in Disguise, sent to apprehend him; and finding he was gone, order'd twenty Men in Arms to pursue and bring him back, if possible. In the mean time, as the President was returning from the Glass-House by himself, with only a Hanger about him, he met with an *Indian King*, called *Paspabego*, who endeavoured to lead him towards that Place where the Ambush of *Indians* lay; and when he found he could not persuade Captain *Smith* into the Snare, he presently attempted to shoot him, which tho' the President prevented by grappling with him, yet the *Indian* being a very strong stout Fellow, he not only hinder'd Captain *Smith* from drawing his Hanger, but bore him down into the River with an Intent to drown him; and after a desperate Struggle in the Water, the President got such fast Hold of the *Indian's* Throat, that he was almost strangled; and the President then drawing his Hanger to cut off his Head, the poor Wretch begg'd his Life in so miserable a Manner, that
the

the good-natur'd President only led him Prisoner to *James Town*, and put him in Irons.

By this time the *Dutchman Francis* was taken, and brought back, who in his Defence pretended, that *Powhatton* not only detained them by Force, but used them very ill, which was the Reason of his Disguise, to make his Escape at the Hazard of his Life; that he was only gathering Walnuts in the Woods, and did not intend to return to *Powhatton*, when they overtook him; but the Circumstances being strong against him, and amply confirm'd by *Paspahago* the *Indian King's* Confession of all the Treachery, *Francis* was committed to Gaol. The President forbore to proceed any farther against him for some time, hoping thereby to regain his Companions from the *Indians*.

PASPAHEGO sent many Messengers to *Powhatton*, intreating him to procure his Liberty, by returning the *Dutchmen*; but the Answer was, that altho' *Powhatton* did not detain the *Dutchmen*, they absolutely refused themselves to return, and it was not in his Power to force them.

MANY of *Paspahago's* People, together with his Wives and Children, came daily to visit him, and brought large Presents, which he so effectually bestowed to gain some Credit and good Will amongst the *English*, that one Day, notwithstanding his Fetters, perceiving the Guard negligent, he made his Escape: Captain *Wynn* immediately pursued him, but was opposed by several Troops of *Indians*, who at length secured their King's Flight.

As soon as the President was informed of what had happen'd, he sent Captain *Wynn* and Lieutenant *Percy*, with fifty

fifty Men in Arms, to be revenged of *Paspabego*, or to bring him back; but in the Morning, when they arrived near the Place, they found the *Indians* ready to engage them; and after several Volleys at each other, without losing a Man on either Side, they only took two Canoes, burnt the King's House, and return'd to *James Town*.

THE President, judging it to be absolutely necessary to make some Attempt to restrain that Insolence which of late appeared almost every-where amongst the *Indians*, marched out himself with a strong Party against them; and in the first Encounter he killed six or seven, and took as many Prisoners; afterwards in many Places he burnt their Houses, took away their Canoes, and destroyed all their Fishing-Wires; and as he was passing by the Place where *Paspabego* lived, in his Way to *Chicabominy*, the *Indians* with a Bravado challenged the *English* to come on Shore, which they readily condescended to do; as soon as the *Indians* perceived it was Captain *Smith* himself that conducted them, they flung down their Bows, and begged Peace. Their Spokesman was a strong young Fellow, called *Okoning*, whose pathetick Speech in the following Terms merits to be related:

‘ CAPTAIN *Smith*, My Master *Paspabego* is here in
‘ Company, and when your People came in Sight, he took
‘ you for Captain *Wynn*, of whom he intended to have
‘ taken Revenge, because my Master never offended him;
‘ and altho’ he knows he has offended you by escaping out
‘ of Prison, yet he hopes you will consider, that the Fishes
‘ swim, the Fowls fly, and every Beast strives to escape the
‘ Snare, and the Line; and therefore you ought not to
‘ blame him, being a Man.

‘ HE

‘ HE intreats you to remember, when you was a Prisoner, what Pains he took to save your Life; and if since that time he has attempted to injure you, it was not his Choice, but because he was compelled to do it; besides, your People have already revenged it to our too great Loss.

‘ WE know you are come at this time with Intent to destroy us; but surely it will be better for you to suffer us to continue in our Habitations, and plant Corn-Fields; since thereby you will supply your own Wants, and share the Fruit of our Labour; which, with a little more Trouble, we can follow in another Place out of your Way. If you promise us Peace, we will believe you; but if you are resolved to proceed in your Revenge, we are determin’d to abandon the Country.’

THE President was so moved at this Discourse, that he generously enter’d into a new League of Friendship with them, on Condition that none of them should at any time hereafter attempt to hurt any *Englishman*; and that they would always bring to *James Town* what Corn and other Provision they had to spare.

ABOUT this time a great many Complaints were made to the President at *James Town* against the *Chicabominy Indians* for Thieving; particularly of a young *Indian*, who had carry’d off a Pistol; and because the Thief was gone, they laid hold of his two Brothers, who, it seems, were privy to the Theft; one was put in Prison, and the other sent to recover the Pistol, threatening, that if he did not bring it back in twelve Hours time, his Brother would be hanged.

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The President, in Compassion to the poor Fellow in Gaol, sent him some Victuals and a little Charcoal to make him a Fire; the other was so diligent, that he return'd with the Pistol about Midnight. But when they open'd the Prison Door, they found the Prisoner so miserably burnt, and quite choaked with the Smoak of the Charcoal, that he lay for dead; on which his Brother fell into violent Agonies of Grief. The President said to him, That on Condition they would never steal any more, he would restore his Brother to Life; and tho' he much doubted of the Success, yet by the Help of some Aquavitæ, and a little Vinegar, he brought the *Indian* to himself; which was blazed abroad amongst them as a Miracle, and raised the President's Character with all the *Indians* to the highest Pitch.

MUCH about the same time, one of *Powhatton's* Men having observed the Soldiers at *James Town* drying their Gunpowder, when it happen'd to be wet or moist; he, to shew his Skill amongst his Companions, spread a large Bag of Gunpowder on the Back of an old Piece of Iron; but heating it too much, it blew up and killed him, with one or two more, besides hurting many of the By-standers.

THESE, and some other Accidents of the like Nature, kept *Powhatton's* People, and all the rest of the *Indians*, in such Terror and Awe of the *English*, that they sent Presents from all Parts; and not only return'd whatever they found had been stolen, without staying till it was demanded, but always sent the Thieves along with it to *James Town*, in order to be punish'd as the President thought fit; and thus the Country became equally open and free to *Englishmen* and *Indians*, without Distinction; which Harmony continued

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firm and unbroken during all the Time of Captain *Smith's* Residence amongst them.

NOTHING could be more orderly than they were at *James Town*, for the Space of two Months, and a great deal of Work of all Kinds was performed; but at last the Stores being quite exhausted, and no more Corn to be had, the Mutineers, who were generally those that eat most ravenously, but hated Work, began to form their Cabals, and to urge the President to sell and dispose of Arms, Tools, or any Thing, howsoever necessary and useful it might be, to fill their Bellies; and because they could not prevail with him to satisfy such foolish and unreasonable Demands, they sought all Occasions to lessen the Colony's Reputation, alledging, it was impracticable to be maintain'd, and that they ought to take the first Opportunity to desert it, and return for *England*.

DURING these Animosities, one Captain *Argal* arrived from *England*, to carry on an interloping Trade on a private Account: He supply'd them in their Distress with a very acceptable Share of Provision, and in Return they made shift to load his Ship with one Thing or other; and here we must leave them for a while, in order to give an Account of the great Alterations that were made about this time in the Constitution and Government of the *Virginia Company* at *London*.

THE Adventurers hitherto in the planting of this Colony being considerably out of Pocket, and tired out with the factious Divisions that prevail'd at *James Town*, as well as the continual Demands that were daily made for more Supplies of Men and Necessaries; but above all being greatly disappointed

disappointed in the Expectation which they had conceived, of immediate Returns in immense Riches from thence; the most considerable of them, on Behalf, and in the Name of the whole Company, petition'd his Majesty King *James* to recal his Letters Patents, and alter the Form of that Government, by appointing a Governor in chief, and other public Officers, for the better administering Affairs in *Virginia*, under the Royal Authority.

HEREUPON the King was pleased to appoint the Right Honourable the Lord *De la War*, to be Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony of *Virginia*, Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant-Governor, Sir *George Summers* Admiral, Sir *Thomas Dale* High-Marshal, Sir *Ferdinando Wainman* General of the Horse, and Captain *Newport* Vice-Admiral; together with many other Offices which were at this time created, and filled up with Persons of good Birth and Rank, who brought in their Friends to advance such considerable Sums of Money, that nine Ships were directly fitted out with five hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Captain *Newport*, who each of them had equal Authority, whoever should first arrive, to take upon him the Government, and supersede the Person acting by any former Commission; but a Dispute arising amongst these three, invested with equal Powers of Government, about Precedency, it was concluded, that they should embarque together on Board one Ship, called the *Sea Adventure*. And accordingly this Fleet sailed from *England* in the Month of *May*, 1609. But the Admiral's Ship, which carried the three Deputy-Governors, and one hundred and fifty Men, with the Royal Commissions and all the material Papers on Board, was unfortunately separated from the rest of the Fleet in a violent Storm; and after working very hard

for three Days, to keep the Ship from sinking, they were drove on Shore and shipwreck'd on the Island of *Bermudas*, where all the Company, by God's Providence, saved themselves; and finding a great many Hogs on the Island, (which were supposed to have swam from the *Spanish* Wrecks, and increased there) together with Plenty of Fish and Wild-Fowl, they stay'd almost a whole Year, having no *Indians* to annoy them, and yet they could not forbear quarrelling among themselves. The two Knights, each forming a Party to himself, built two small Ships or Brigantines of Cedar-Wood, and rigg'd them out of the Remainder of the old Wreck. But here we must leave them for some time, to inquire what became of the rest of that Fleet.

ONE small Catch was lost in the Storm, and never more heard of, but the other seven arrived safe in *Virginia*; and with them return'd the Captains *Ratcliff*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, who had not forgot their old Feuds and Resentments against the worthy President Captain *Smith*, whose Conduct was always of a Piece, still continuing firm and steady for the careful Support and Preservation of that Settlement, wherein he had had so laborious and painful a Share.

THE Arrival of so large a Fleet very much alarmed the small Colony at *James Town*, apprehending it might be the *Spaniards*, or some Enemy come to attack them; and the watchful President, who doubted nothing less, not only put Things in the best Order he could to receive them as such, but had Interest enough to engage all the *Indians* to stand by him, which they chearfully undertook: and truly, when his Countrymen came on Shore, they were so full of themselves,

selves, and the new Authority which they imagin'd they had brought along with them, that they shewed a Contempt of every Thing that was there ; and such of them as were appointed to be of the Council, wanted immediately to assume the Administration of Government ; but the Royal Commissions, and such other Papers as were needful to vouch their Pretensions, being along with the Admiral, who at this time was supposed to be lost, they could not prevail with Captain *Smith* to lay down his Office and Power on their bare Assertion of such Things, as indeed appeared very new and strange to him, who had not had the least Notice or Suspicion of so sudden and surprizing a Change.

IT is not difficult to conceive the Animosities, Quarrels, and Disgusts, that would naturally arise on this Occasion, between the President's Friends in the Country, and those particular Persons, who, tho' but lately sent home from *Virginia* under the Circumstance of seditious Criminals, yet were now come over again cloathed with Authority, and a great Possè to support their Resentments.

IN this Situation however the honest President found Means effectually to maintain his Character, by exercising with Discretion his just Authority to quell every Disorder that happen'd ; and likewise he lost no Time in dispersing and disposing of the People newly arrived, to the best Advantage of the Business for which they were sent thither : For he sent one hundred Men, under the Command of Captain *Martin*, to *Nansamund* ; and one hundred and twenty, under Mr. *West's* Directions, to settle and build a Fort on the Falls of *James River*. But both these Gentlemen were so indiscreet in their Conduct, as to provoke the *Indians* by ill Usage to quarrel with them, and their People ;
whereby

whereby a great many of the *English* lost their Lives, and at the same time that Peace and Harmony which the good President had taken so much Pains to cultivate with the Natives, was broken.

To rectify those Disorders, the President went up to Mr. *West's* new Settlement at the Falls, taking only five Men along with him; but found, when he came there, that Mr. *West* had left the People to themselves, and was gone down to *James Town*: And the *Indians* made such heavy Complaints of the ill Usage they had received from their new Friends, that the President was obliged to examine into the Matter, and to punish such of them as plainly appeared to have been the Aggressors. Yet as he could make but a very short Stay with them, as soon as he was gone, they returned to their former Practices, which was wholly owing to Mr. *West's* Lenity, and the Want of any Order or Discipline amongst them.

THE President being over-fatigu'd with Care, happen'd to fall asleep in the Boat, as he was coming down the River on his Return to the Fort; and by the unextinguish'd Ashes of a Tobacco-Pipe, or some such Accident, his Powder-Bag took Fire, and blew up, which tore all his Thigh and Hip in a terrible Manner, and gave him such Extremity of Pain, that it was with much Difficulty and Danger he could be convey'd to *James Town*, where there was neither Surgeon, nor proper Remedies to be had for the Cure of so dangerous a Wound; and while he lay under great Torture in this pitiful Condition, he was certainly informed of several Plots that his old Enemies had laid to destroy him, and take him out of the Way. It was however the deplorable State of his Wound, and not the least Apprehension
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or Fear of their malicious Designs, which at last determin'd him to leave those unhappy Wretches to themselves ; and to go home for *England*, with the Ships that were just ready to sail.

THE Harvest was safely got in, when Captain *Smith* resign'd his Command to Mr. *Percy*, and left behind him three Ships, seven Boats, ten Weeks Provision, twenty-four Cannon, three hundred Muskets, a sufficient Quantity of Match-Powder and Shot, and more Swords and Pikes than there were Men to use them ; one hundred of season'd stout Fellows, well train'd up to fight or follow any sort of Business in that Country, Nets for Fishing, and all manner of Tools for common Labour ; a good Quantity of Apparel, one Horse, and six Mares ; between five and six hundred Hogs, and as many Hens and Chickens, together with some Goats, and a few Sheep ; for Captain *Smith* was not only careful to save all the Creatures brought alive from *Europe*, but to increase and preserve the Breed as much as possible.

BESIDES *James Town*, which contained between fifty and sixty Houses, he left five or six other small Forts and Plantations ; which he had caused to be erected, and laid out in convenient Places for Trade, as well as Defence. It must be own'd, that this Gentleman very successfully overcame many great and surprising Difficulties in the public Service ; for which, no doubt, he justly deserved the following Character given of him, by one of those who accompany'd him in all or most of his Adventures in *Virginia* :

' HE was a just Man, and an experienc'd Officer, void
' of any vicious Pride, ever fruitful of Expedients to pro-
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‘ vide for the People under his Command, whom he chose
 ‘ rather to lead than send into any Danger.

‘ ON all hazardous or fatiguing Expeditions, he shared
 ‘ every Thing equal with his Company ; and never desired
 ‘ any of them to do more, than he was always ready to
 ‘ act and perform himself.

‘ HE would often suffer Want, rather than borrow of
 ‘ those he did not like ; and would even venture to starve,
 ‘ rather than not repay.

‘ HE was quite a Stranger to Covetousness, and so great
 ‘ a Lover of Truth, that he abhorred Falshood beyond all
 ‘ other Evils.’

IT was no sooner known that Captain *Smith* was gone,
 but the *Indians* in general revolted, and destroyed the *English*
 where-ever they met any of them, cut off many of their
 Boats, and did all the Mischief possible to the Colony ;
 which had no Resource for more Provisions than what were
 left in the Store, which, with Extravagance and other dis-
 orderly Proceedings amongst them, were soon expended.

CAPTAIN *Ratcliff* in a small Ship, with thirty Men
 well provided, went out to trade ; but trusting himself in-
 discreetly to *Powhatton*, he and all his People were slain, ex-
 cept one Man, who escaped, and a Boy called *Henry Spileman*,
 who was saved by the Princess *Pocobuntas*, and lived after-
 wards many Years amongst the *Indians*.

THE Loss of Captain *Smith* was now felt indeed, and
 universally lamented for all Things went into the utmost ;
 Confusion :

Confusion: As for the Hogs, Poultry and Sheep, what the *Indians* could not come at, were in a very short time consumed by the Luxury of the Officers. In short, between the indiscreet Conduct of their Governors, and the Cruelty of the Natives, in so little a Space as six Months after Captain *Smith* left them, the Colony was reduced from above five hundred Persons to no more than sixty odd, Men, Women and Children, who had nothing to subsist on but wild Herbs, Roots, and a little Fish; at last the Famine was so great, that they eat the very Skins of the Horses, and fed on the Body of an *Indian* that was killed, which they dug out of the Ground after it had been buried; and, what is yet more shocking to relate, one egregious Monster amongst them, after killing his own Wife, salted the Body, and had eat a good Part of it before the Murther was discover'd; but for this horrid Fact he was justly condemn'd and executed.

ABOUT this time the three Governors, who had been wreck'd on the Island of *Bermudas*, put to Sea, with one hundred and fifty Passengers, on Board the two small Vessels they had built there; and in fourteen Days, viz. on the 25th of May, 1610. they arrived in *Virginia*, and went up directly to *James Town*, where they found that small Remainder of the Colony in the above miserable Condition.

THE three Commanders, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Captain *Newport*, were extremely moved with Compassion at so pitiful a Sight; and having called a Council, they inform'd the People, That they had only sixteen Days Provision remaining on Board their Vessels, and therefore desired them to take it into Consideration, whether they would venture to Sea with so small a Stock, or chuse to continue at *James Town*; in which last Case

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it should be equally divided among all the Company : But they soon determined to go for *England* ; and because Provision was so short, they proposed to go by the Banks of *Newfoundland*, in Hopes to meet with some Recruit amongst the Fishermen at this Season of the Year.

IN Pursuance of this Resolution, they went all on Board these two small Ships, falling down to *Hog-Island* on the 6th of *June* at Night ; and the next Morning to *Mulberry-Point*, which is ten Miles below *James Town*, and thirty above the Mouth of the River. Here they spied a Long-boat, which the Lord *De la War* (who was just arrived with three Ships) had sent before him to sound the Channel. His Lordship being sole and chief Governor, he was accompanied with a good many Gentlemen of Distinction ; and having also brought a large Stock of Provisions, and other Necessaries, he made them all return to *James Town*, where he re-settled the Colony with great Satisfaction and Content.

THE Lord *De la War* at his first entring on the Administration of Government, made an elegant Speech, wherein he delivered his Sentiments in very strong Terms to them all ; taking Notice of their former Neglects, and promising great Encouragement to those who would exert themselves in promoting the public Good with Harmony and Diligence ; so that all Manner of Business went on that Year in a very prosperous Way. Two new Forts were built on *Southampton River*, called Fort *Henry*, and Fort *Charles* ; Sir *George Summers* undertook a Voyage to *Bermudas*, in Quest of Provisions ; and Captain *Argall* was sent to the River *Potowmack*, on the same Errand, and by the Assistance of the young Man *Henry Spileman*, who had contracted a Friendship

ship amongst those *Indians*, the Captain returned with a Ship-load of Corn to the Fort. Sir *Thomas Gates* went for *England*, and Mr. *Percy*, with sixty Men, was sent to correct the Insolence of the *Paspabego Indians*, whose Houses he burnt, and slew many of them.

My Lord himself went up to the Falls of *James River*, and was there attacked by the *Indians*, who killed four of his Men ; but his Discipline and Care every-where was such, that the Natives got no considerable Advantage while his Lordship remain'd in the Country, which was not above nine Months, and a few Days ; for latterly being very much afflicted with Sicknes, on the 28th of *March* following he sail'd for *England*, leaving about two hundred People behind ; and on his Arrival at *London* he made a full Report to the Company of all his Proceedings, together with the State of the Colony at that time. But some time before the Lord *De la War's* Arrival, the Company had been so diligent to send out Sir *Thomas Dale* Governor, with three Ships carrying a Recruit of Men and Provisions for twelve Months, who arrived at *Keyoughtan* on the 10th of *May*, 1611.

SIR *Thomas's* first Care was to visit the two new Forts, *Henry* and *Charles*, at the Mouth of *James River* ; where finding the People in a way of returning again to their former neglectful and idle Courses, he made them instantly plant a good deal of Corn on that rich fertile Spot, from whence they had a tolerable good Crop ; and he afterwards kept such strict Order amongst them at *James Town*, that the Laws were punctually executed, and no Delinquent could hope to escape due Punishment.

THIS Governor being quite a Stranger in the Country, had form'd to himself a Design of building a new Town or City ; and for that End he went down with an hundred good Men to searck the River of *Nansamund*, for a convenient Situation ; but finding nothing there to please him, from thence he proceeded all the way up *James River*, until he came to a high rising Ground about twelve Miles above the Falls ; which being naturally fortified, and almost surrounded with Water, he pitched on that Place for his intended Purpose.

IN the mean time so intent were the Company at *London* to forward their Plantation of the Colony of *Virginia*, that they had sent out Sir *Thomas Gates* with six large Ships, and three hundred Men ; together with a great Supply of Ammunition, live Cattle, and all manner of Stores, who safely arrived at *James Town* on the 2d of *August*, in the same Year 1611.

AFTER many kind Salutations and other friendly Intercourse between the two Knights, Sir *Thomas Dale* acquainted the other with the Plan of his new intended City ; which being very well liked and approved of by Sir *Thomas Gates*, he allowed Sir *Thomas Dale* to pick out three hundred and fifty of the best Men to execute that Design ; and with this Company, in the Beginning of *September*, he went up the River to the aforesaid Place ; where he so well employed his Men, that in a very short time he not only fortified the Ground with a Palisado round, but erected Watch-Towers on each Corner, built a Church, a Storehouse, a House for himself, and convenient Lodgings for the Men, to their Content, and the intire Satisfaction of all the

the Colony, which Town he called *Henrico* ; and the Precinct thereof being very much enlarged at that time by Sir *Thomas Dale*, who took into that Liberty several Hundreds of champain Land, and settled many Plantations for eight or ten Miles round, it continues at this Day to be one of the most flourishing Parts in that Country, lying about fifty Miles above *James Town*.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1612. two more Ships arrived from *England*, with Provision and forty Men on Board each of them ; the last, commanded by Captain *Argall*, was sent into *Potowmack* River to purchase a Load of Corn ; and the Princess *Pocohuntas* happening to be there *incognita*, at the House of an *Indian*, who had been an old Acquaintance and Friend of Captain *Smith's*, this poor Lady was betrayed, for the Value of a Copper Kettle, wherewith Captain *Argall* had bribed the *Indian*, to go on Board the Ship along with him and his Wife ; where she was detained a Prisoner, and carried to *James Town*, in order to make the better Terms of Peace with her Father *Powhatton*.

IT was remarkable, that *Pocohuntas* had altogether abstracted herself from coming to *James Town*, or conversing with the *English*, ever since Captain *Smith's* Departure ; and thought she was safely concealed in Disguise, at the time she was betrayed to Captain *Argall* by the *Indian* and his Wife. But, on her Arrival at the Fort, a Messenger was sent to acquaint *Powhatton*, that his beloved Daughter was there ; and that it depended on him to redeem her, by sending home the *English* Deserters and Captives, together with the Arms and other Things, which his People had stolen from time to time.

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THE surly proud *Indian* did not vouchsafe to return any Answer to this Message for three Months; at last he condescended to send back seven *English* Prisoners, with each of them an old rusty Musket, promising, that if they would restore his Daughter *Pocobuntas*, he would give them five hundred Bushels of Corn, and order his People to return such Things as were stolen; and moreover, enter into a new League of Friendship with the Colony. To this it was answer'd, That they could not trust him, but that in the mean time his Daughter should be very kindly and well used, until he thought fit to redeem her by performing what he said.

A CONSIDERABLE Time afterwards, having heard nothing from *Powhatton*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, with one hundred and fifty Men, well arm'd, went up to his principal Habitation, and carried *Pocobuntas* along with him; the King himself did not appear, but his People were so impudent and saucy, that the *English* were obliged to attack them; and after their Houses were burnt, and a great many of them killed, they begged hard for a Truce, which was granted them on Condition that they would perform their Promise, and redeem *Pocobuntas* after Harvest.

ON this Occasion, two of *Powhatton's* Sons came on Board to see their Sister, and they were extremely pleased however to find that she was treated with great Civility and Respect; but the Month of *April* approaching, which was the Season for preparing the Ground to plant Corn, the *English* returned to *James Town*.

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ABOUT this time it was discovered that one Mr. *John Ralfe*, an *Englishman*, of a fair and good Character, had fallen in Love with *Pocobuntas*, and she with him; which being communicated to Sir *Thomas Dale*, he encouraged the Match, and sent to *Powhatton* for his Consent; who not only approved the Matter, but sent *Opochisco* an old *Indian*, who was Uncle to *Pocobuntas*, along with two of her Brothers, to act as his Deputies at the Wedding, and to do every Thing that should be required of them towards the completing of that Contract; which had so good an Effect, that a friendly Intercourse of Trade was immediately carried on between the *English*, *Powhatton* and all his People.

THE *Chicabominy Indians*, who were a bold independent People, that dreaded *Powhatton's* tyrannical Power, as soon as they were informed of this new League between him and the *English*, sent Messengers to Sir *Thomas Dale*, desiring to relinquish the Name of *Chicabominies*, and to be called *Englishmen*, and Subjects to King *James*, under Sir *Thomas Dale* as the King's Deputy; intreating withal, that they might continue to be governed by their own Laws, *viz.* by eight of their Elders, who, they agreed, should still be under the Governor's Direction.

SIR *Thomas* readily consented to this Proposal, and a Day being appointed for the solemn Execution of this Treaty, the Governor and Captain *Argall*, with fifty Men, went up to *Chicabominy*, where the *Indians* expecting them, treated them in the best Manner they could; and the very next Morning, in Council, this solemn Treaty was concluded on the following Terms:

I. THAT

1. THAT from that time they should be called *Englishmen*, and become faithful Subjects to King *James* and his Deputies.

2. THAT they would never attempt to kill or hurt any of the *English*, nor their Cattle; but conduct them safe home, where-ever they happen'd to find any of them.

3. THAT they would always be ready to assist the *English* with three hundred good Men, against the *Spaniard*, or any other Enemy.

4. THAT before they enter'd any of the *English* Settlements, they would send Notice, that the new *Englishmen* were coming.

5. THAT every fighting Man, at the Beginning of Harvest, should bring, as an Acknowledgment of Tribute to the Store, two Bushels of Corn, for which he was to receive as many Hatchets.

6. LASTLY, That their eight Elders, or chief Men, who undertook to see all this performed, were to be accounted Noblemen; and, as such, to receive a red Coat, a Copper Chain, and King *James's* Picture.

PEACE being thus happily settled all over the Country, every thing went smoothly on during the Remainder of Sir *Thomas Dale's* Administration; but towards the Beginning of the Year 1616. Sir *Thomas* return'd for *England*, and left Captain *George Yuardly*, Deputy-Governor.

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MR. *John Ralfe*, and his Wife the Princess *Pocobuntas*, who, after Marriage, had been baptized by the Name of *Rebecca*, went along in the same Ship with Sir *Thomas Dale*, and landed at *Plymouth* on the 12th of *June*.

As soon as Captain *Smith* at *London*, who was then ready to sail for *New-England*, heard that his incomparable Friend *Pocobuntas* was arrived, lest he should not have the Opportunity to see her before his Departure, he presented a Petition to the Queen in her Behalf, setting forth at large all the particular Circumstances of his Obligations to *Pocobuntas*, as you find them above related ; but she happily arriving at *London* before the Captain left that Place, he went to visit her ; and for a considerable Time the good Lady would not condescend to speak to him, or so much as look towards him ; for, it seems, she had been told in *Virginia*, that Captain *Smith* was actually dead ; and was therefore greatly offended, to find she had been so grossly imposed on ; and at last, when she was prevailed with to talk to him, she upbraided him with his Forgetfulness of the great Friendship she had formerly shewed to him ; and behaved herself in every other Respect, so much becoming a Person of high Birth and Rank, that she was treated at Court and everywhere else with Marks of great Distinction ; but some time afterwards she fell sick at *Gravesend*, as she waited there to embark on her Return to *Virginia* ; and after a few Days Illness died, with all the Tokens of Piety and Religion that became a good Christian ; leaving behind her one only Son, *Thomas Ralfe*, whose Posterity, in *Virginia*, at this Day, live in very good Repute, and inherit Lands by Descent from her.

CAPTAIN *Yuardly's* Conduct was much blamed, for that he neglected every other Thing, to employ the People on raising large Quantities of Tobacco, for Returns to *England*; the cultivating of the Ground for planting Corn was postponed, and the Natives most indiscreetly encouraged to learn the Use of Fire-Arms, by employing them as Huntsmen, to kill Game, &c.

IN *March* 1617. Captain *Argall* being appointed Governor, he sail'd from *Plymouth* in the Ship *George*, and arriv'd at *James Town* in *May* following, where he was handsomely received by Captain *Yuardly*, and the People all under Arms, the right File being led and commanded by an *Indian*; but the Settlement otherwise appeared in a miserable bad Condition; for of four hundred that remain'd, one half were unfit for any manner of Service, and not above five or six Houses standing in the Town. The Church was fallen down to the Ground; the Palisadoes and the Bridge quite broken, and the Well of fresh Water half filled up and spoil'd; the Market-place and Streets were all planted with Tobacco; and the *Indians* no less familiar and frequent in every House, than the *English* themselves, whereby they were become expert in the Use of Fire-Arms, and had got a great many of them in their Custody.

CAPTAIN *Argall*, who disliked this Way of Proceeding, lost no time to give Things a quite different Turn: He obliged the People all over the Country to repair their Houses, and to plant a reasonable Quantity of Corn; likewise he omitted no Opportunity to replenish the Store, by trading with the Natives from time to time; so that this

happen'd

happen'd to be a plentiful Year, and their Tobacco sold at three Shillings a Pound.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1618. the Lord *De la War* was sent over again with two hundred Men; but taking his Course by the Western Islands, and meeting with contrary Winds, many of the Company fell sick, and my Lord himself with thirty more died in the Passage.

THIS worthy Lord had taken much Pains, and been at a great Expence in contributing to the happy Establishment of this Colony; and as he was a Nobleman of fine Parts, and of a most benevolent and generous Disposition, his Death was a sensible Loss to the Colony in general; but more particularly to a great many Gentlemen of Birth and Education, who had embarked themselves along with him, and were not so fit to endure the Fatigues which must unavoidably attend the planting of a new Settlement in a Wilderness.

THIS Ship however brought Advice, that the Company in *England* were preparing to send over a great Number of People, depending chiefly on the Provisions which they now supposed might easily be raised in *Virginia*. Hereupon Captain *Argall* called a Council, and drew up a full Representation to be sent home, setting forth the Difficulties they daily met with in furnishing the necessary Provisions for those few that were there already; intimating, that it was Farmers and proper Utensils for that kind of Labour, which were wanting more than Gentlemen or Soldiers with Arms, that only could fight for their Victuals.

THIS Year was remarkable in *Virginia* for the Death of the great *Indian* Emperor *Powhatton*, who was succeeded by *Itopatin*, his younger Brother; *Opochancanough* the elder having disoblighd the old Man, by withdrawing the *Chickahominy* *Indians* from his Subjection. Nevertheless both Brothers agreed to renew the Peace with the *English*, but soon afterwards *Opochancanough*, who, of the two, had much the best Understanding, grasp'd the whole Empire to himself, and all his Actions shew'd him to be no less subtle, than he was a bold and daring Prince.

GOVERNOR *Argall* thus enjoying the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, and being naturally a Man of a publick Spirit, undertook a coasting Voyage to the Northward, with Intent to visit those Places where the *English* had formerly landed; and in case he found no Vestige of any Settlement there, to proceed to the Fisheries on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, in order to settle a Correspondence in Trade, with the one or the other.

AT *Cape Cod*, where he happen'd to touch, he was inform'd by the *Indians*, that some white People were come to inhabit a little way to the Northward; and the Captain, who was zealous for the Honour of the *English* Nation, apprehending the Intrusion of some Foreigners on that Coast, which he judg'd from the first Discovery thereof to remain the Property of *England*, he pursued his Course according to the Information he had received, and found a small *French* Settlement to the Northward of *New-England* with a Ship riding before it.

THE *French* were so unexpectedly surpris'd, that they had made no Preparation for any Resistance on Board the Ship, which being immediately taken, the Captain landed his Men, and came before the Fort, which he summon'd to surrender; but finding that the Garison had withdrawn themselves, and fled into the Woods, he lodged in the Fort that Night, and next Day the *Frenchmen* came in, and voluntarily surrender'd themselves; when it appear'd, that the *French* King had granted a Patent for this Settlement, which was then given up to Captain *Argall* to be cancell'd; wherefore he us'd the *Frenchmen* very civilly, but oblig'd them to desert the Place, suffering those, who so inclined, to return to *France* by the Ships of the Fishery, and others chose to go along with him to *Virginia*.

It seems, these whom Captain *Argall* found in this Place were a few discontented People, under the Conduct of two Jesuits, who being disoblig'd at Monsieur *Biencourt*, then Governor of *Port-Royal* in *Acadia*, had separated themselves from that Settlement; and one of them, out of his Resentment to Monsieur *Biencourt*, inform'd Captain *Argall* of the weak Condition *Port-Royal* was in, and offer'd his Service to pilot the *English* thither; which the Captain readily accepted, and took that Place with the same Ease he had done the other.

THE *French* at *Port-Royal* had not only sow'd and reap'd, but built Barns, Mills, and many other Conveniencies; which Captain *Argall* did not destroy, but only oblig'd them to desert the Settlement, and gave them the same Liberty he had done the others before, of returning to *France*, or otherwise disposing of themselves as they thought fit; and
with

with the Booty he had got in these two Places, he return'd to *James Town*.

WHETHER these Exploits of Governor *Argall* were approved or not in *England*, is uncertain ; but so it happen'd that in the Month of *April* following, a small Ship came to *Virginia*, on which the Governor embarked without Delay for *England*, leaving Captain *Nathanael Powell* Deputy-Governor.

ABOUT ten Days after Captain *Argall's* Departure, the former Governor, Captain *Yuardly*, now Sir *George Yuardly*, arrived, and enter'd again on the Administration ; and the People were much rejoiced at the welcome News of the great Preparations that were making in *England*, to send over large Supplies for the Maintenance and Support of the Colony ; and truly within the Compass of one Year no less than eleven Ships arrived with twelve hundred and sixteen Persons on board, both Men and Women, who were mostly employed in improving the Lands laid out for publick Uses, as well as the private Estates and Plantations of particular Persons ; for Sir *George* having added six new Members to the Council, and called an Assembly of the Burgeesses, elected to represent the People, they met the Governor in *May*, 1620. when many Laws were made for regulating Property ; a certain Portion of Land was allow'd for the Importation of Servants and Effects into the Colony, and a Form was agreed on for issuing Patents or Grants for Land ; so that many new Settlements were made this Year, on *James* and *York* Rivers. The People began to take Pleasure in working for themselves, and improving their own Estates, which created a strong Emulation for Industry and Improvement all over the Country.

BUT

BUT altho' Sir George Yuardly seem'd at this time to make some Amends for the Errors of his Administration, yet he still neglected to provide sufficiently for the People's Defence against future Accidents and Dangers, indolently depending on the Continuance of that Peace and Tranquillity with the *Indians*, which they then enjoyed.

THE *English* at this time became very numerous in *Virginia*, which occasioned their making so large a Quantity of Tobacco as to overstock the Market in *England*; and herein the King himself was so careful, as to send Instructions to his Governor, not to suffer the Planters to raise above one hundred Weight of Tobacco *per* Man; for that three Shillings *per* Pound was the highest Price it would fetch; and therefore his Majesty advised, that besides raising of Corn and Stock, they might apply some Part of their Labour in making Pot-Ash, and other Manufactures that would be beneficial to *England*.

IN the Year 1621. Sir Francis Wyat, a young Gentleman, was appointed Governor of *Virginia*; and on his Arrival there, in the Month of *October*, he began with making a Review of all the Settlements in the Country, and encouraged them to proceed in their Planting, as far as the Bank of the River *Potowmack*.

IN *November* Captain Newport arrived with fifty Men, whom he had imported at his own Expence, besides Passengers; and with those he made a famous Plantation for himself, at a Place which he called by the Name of *Newport's News*.

BY

By Advice of the general Assembly this Year, the Justices of Peace in each County were authoris'd to hold a Court of Sessions, and also of Common-Pleas once every Month, for the more easy Distribution of Justice; and from them Appeals lay before the Governor and Council, which was called the supreme, or general Court, that met only twice in the Year; and so continues to do at this Day, where the Governor sits and votes as President.

AN uninterrupted Peace with the *Indians* ever since the Marriage of *Pocohuntas*, which had been formally renew'd, and hitherto preserv'd by the new Emperor *Opochancanough*, lulled the People into such a negligent and careless Security, that their scatter'd Houses and Plantations all over the Country were still as open and free to the Natives, as to the *English* themselves; whereby the *Indians* became perfectly acquainted how, and where, the *English* were employ'd at all Hours of the Day or Night. And while thus the *English* pursued their Industry and Labour, without the least Suspicion of an Enemy, no Care was taken to keep any Sort of Watch or Guard neither did they foresee the Danger and Inconveniency of suffering the Natives to be instructed in the Use of their Arms.

THERE was at this time a tall handsome well-made *Indian*, called *Nemattanow*, who had gain'd such Esteem amongst his own People in War, that they believ'd him to be invulnerable; for he had hitherto escap'd without Hurt, from all the Battles he had ever been engag'd in. He was so excessively proud of this Character, that he was frequently dress'd up in Feathers, by way of Distinction; which

which procured him, among the *English*, the Name of *Jack of the Feather*.

THIS *Indian* happen'd to come to the Plantation of one *Morgan*, who had several Toys and other Things in his Store for Sale, which the *Indian* liked; but not having wherewithal to purchase any of them, he perswaded Mr. *Morgan*, that he might dispose of his Toys to very great Profit at *Pawmonkee*, whither he offer'd to conduct him, and assist him in his Market. *Morgan* believing what *Nemattanow* said, to be sincere, went along with him; but was never more seen, or heard of.

SOME few Days afterwards *Nemattanow* return'd to the same House with *Morgan's* Cap on his Head; and being asked by two young Lads, What was become of their Master? the *Indian* boldly reply'd, That he was dead; but they, from the Circumstance of the Cap, suspecting that the Villain had murder'd him, insisted on his going before a neighbouring Justice of the Peace; which *Nemattanow* not only refused, but insolently abused the young Men; whereupon they instantly shot him down, and as they were carrying him to the Governor, he died; yet before he expired, he earnestly desired they would promise him two Things; first, that they would not discover how he was killed; and, secondly, that they would bury him privately amongst the *English*: A remarkable Instance of that strong Delusion, wherewith Vanity often affects the boldest and most daring Minds.

OPOCHANCANOUGH, the Emperor, took the Loss of this famous *Indian* Warrior so much to Heart, that he secretly form'd the Design of a general Massacre against the *English*, which was to be executed on the 22d of *March*,

T

1622.

1622. a little before Noon, when he supposed the Men would be at Work in the Fields, about their Plantations; and he contrived so well to dissemble his execrable Purpose, that the *Indians* every-where were directed to carry Presents of Fish and Fowl, &c. to the *English*, the very Evening before the Execution. Nay further, on the Morning of that Day the *Indians* appeared without Arms, eating and drinking at the *English* Plantations as usual, with all the Marks of Friendship imaginable, until the fatal Minute arrived; when with Hatchets, Spades, Shovels, and all manner of Tools or other Instruments that came in their Way, they knocked down, murdered, and destroyed every one they met with, neither sparing Age or Sex; for they have no Idea of Mercy, but always pursue their favourite Maxim, never to leave Enemies behind to bear Resentment. Those of the *English* who had any Opportunity to make Resistance, saved themselves, and some few escaped by running out of the Way; but there were three hundred and forty-seven Persons actually killed in that Hour by the Savages, chiefly with their own Weapons or Tools; and the Mischief would have been made universal, if the Plot had not been providentially discovered a few Hours before the Execution, in this Manner:

Two *Indians* that used to be employed to hunt for the *English*, happen'd to lie together the Night before at an *Englishman's* House, where one of them lived as a Servant. The *Indian* who did not belong to the Family, endeavoured to persuade the other to get up, and kill his Master in Bed, assuring him that in the Morning he intended to do the same by his own Master; and then he acquainted his Companion with the horrid Plot. But the faithful Servant dissembling, as if he meant to execute what the other proposed,

posed, got up, and going into his Master's Chamber, reveal'd what had been told him ; the good Man, thus apprized of the Danger, first secured his own House, and then went directly to *James Town*, where he arrived before Day ; by which Means all those Places to which timely Notice could be sent, were preserved, as well as they who usually kept a tolerable good Watch ; for none suffer'd, but such as slept in Security, and were surpris'd.

As this unhappy Affair gave the *English* sufficient Provocation to inspire them with a Resolution of being revenged, and particularly of extirpating *Opochananough*, and all his People ; they hunted them all over the Country for several Months together, killing and destroying them every-where ; but not satisfied with that, because the *Indians* were very expert in hiding themselves in the Woods, and escaping out of Sight, the *English* further resolv'd to dissemble with them in their own way ; and for this Purpose they gave the *Indians* mighty fair Words, in order to conclude a Peace with them, promising to forget what was pass'd, on Condition that they would return to their former Habitations, and plant their Corn-fields as usual.

THO' the Intention of the *English* at this time was a mere Deceit, that they might the more easily come at their Enemies to destroy as many as they could, and starve the rest by spoiling their Corn ; yet it prevail'd so far as to bring a great many of them into the Snare ; for when they had return'd, and planted Corn, on the Faith of what had been promised to them, the *English* suddenly fell on them, cut to pieces all that could not make their Escape, and then totally destroyed the Corn.

AMONGST the many Fatigues and other Inconveniences which this *Indian* War brought upon the Colony, it obliged them to reduce and contract the Bounds of their Settlements, and to keep their People close together for Defence; which was a considerable Hindrance and Discouragement to many Improvements, which at this time were very far advanced.

How far the Misfortunes which hitherto attended the planting of this Colony, were owing to the frequent Change of Governors in the Country, and to the opposite and partial, as well as weak Measures they too often pursued, we cannot say: But the Company of Adventurers in *London* finding by so many repeated Acts of Mismanagement, that very small Hopes remain'd of suitable Returns for the great Expence they had been at; many of them gave out, and sold their Shares to others, who having their own private Gain more in view than any regular Settlement of the Colony, several Gentlemen went over, and carried Stock and Servants along with them, separate from those of the Company; each designing to take up Land for himself, as Captain *Newport* had done; and others again grasped not only at large Grants of Land, but even Royalties, and particular Immunities within their own Manors, which were truly inconsistent with, as well as independent on, the civil Power, and consequently very destructive of that Equality of Right and good Order, that ought to be maintain'd in such a Settlement.

THE Animosities and Distractions which arose from so many different private Interests, gave the *Indians* Occasion to take Advantage of these Disorders, and to gratify their
Revenge

Revenge with frequent Murders, which were committed on the *English* Inhabitants, whenever they found an Opportunity.

At last the Noise of the fatal Consequences which daily flow'd from those Mismanagements having reach'd the Throne, King *Charles* the First, on his Accession, and out of his Royal Goodness and Concern for the Preservation and future Happiness of so many industrious Subjects as were then settled in *Virginia*, was most graciously pleas'd, in the Year 1626, to dissolve the Company, by a *Quo Warranto*; and to take the Government of that Country under his own royal and immediate Direction, by not only appointing the Governor and Council himself, but ordering the Patents for Lands as well as publick Offices, and all manner of Process from thenceforth, to be issued in the King's Name, reserving to the Crown a Quit-Rent of two Shillings Sterling, on every hundred Acres of Land to be granted for ever.

FROM this time Assemblies were called by Authority from the Crown, having the Privilege of enacting Laws by and with the Advice and Consent of the King's Lieutenant-Governor; and his Majesty's Council, who continue to act there as an upper House, or third Part of the Legislature, still endeavouring, as near as they can in both Houses, to copy after the Forms used in the Parliament of *England*: The Jurisdiction of, and Proceedings in the Courts of Law, which had been settled in the Year 1620, were by this new Authority confirm'd, placing the last Resort in the Assembly; and every thing seem'd to bear so great a Resemblance to the Practice and Constitution of *England*, that

that the People became perfectly quiet and easy under that Form of Government.

THERE was now no public Interest of any Company at home, to interfere with the Industry and particular Advantage of the Planters; for the Patent-Office was always open to dispose of vacant Lands, on the single Terms of paying the Quit-Rent reserved to the Crown; so that every Man took up what Quantity of Land he pleased in his own Right; and indeed some appeared too covetous of possessing more Land than they were able to cultivate, which not only prevented many Improvements that otherwise would have been made, but kept the Settlements at too great a Distance from one another; and also disabled some of them from paying the Quit-Rent due on large uncultivated Tracts, that yielded little or no Profit to the Owners.

THESE Privileges however gave great Encouragement to Men of Substance, to go over with their Families to settle in that Country; which soon became so populous, that the *Indians* were kept in more Awe, and at a much greater Distance, than before.

ABOUT this time the Right Honourable *Cecilius Calvert* + Lord *Baltimore*, a conscientious *Roman-Catholick*, had an Inclination to retire with his Family to that new World, in order to enjoy quietly the free Exercise of his Religion. For this Purpose he first went over himself to *Virginia*, with a View to make some Trial of the Climate, and to find out a convenient Place to settle in; but being discouraged, by the universal Dislike which he perceived the People had to the very Name of a Papist, he left *Virginia*, and went further up the Bay of *Cheasapeak*; and finding there a very large

large Tract of Land, commodiously water'd with many beautiful Rivers, and not yet inhabited by any *Christians*, he embarked for *England*; and on his Lordship's representing to the King, that the Colony of *Virginia* had not occupied any Lands beyond the South Bank of *Potowmack* River, he had the Interest to obtain a Grant to himself and his Heirs for ever, of the Propriety of that Province, which has ever since been called *Maryland*: But this Lord dying before he could return to finish his Design in *America*, his Son and Heir procured a Confirmation of his Father's Patent, dated in the Year 1633. with many Royalties annexed, and went over himself to settle that new Colony.

+ THIS Grant of my Lord *Baltimore's* being a fair Precedent for other Men of Quality and Interest, to solicit Favours of the like Nature at Court, the former unlimited Bounds of *Virginia* came very soon to be retrench'd and circumscribed towards the South as well as the North, by particular Grants of that Kind. And while the Crown was so lavish in giving away the Propriety of such large Provinces, Sir *John Harvey*, then Governor of *Virginia*, being a haughty covetous Man, took an Occasion not only to grant Patents for great Quantities of the Crown Land in *Virginia*, free of Quit-Rent; but in several Places he incroached on former Grants, and particular Settlements, that had been already possessed by others; which created so much Confusion and Wrangling about Property in that Country, that, together with Sir *John's* partial and arbitrary Proceedings in other Matters of Government, he exasperated the People to such a Degree, and his tyrannical Sway became so insupportable to them, that in the Year 1639. he was by Command of the Council of *Virginia* sent home a Prisoner to *London*; and at the same time, two of the
Counsellors

Counsellors went for *England*, to support Articles of Impeachment against their Governor.

KING *Charles* was so much offended at this Presumption in the Council of *Virginia*, who most certainly had no Right to constitute themselves Judges in an Affair of that high Nature, that, to check their Insolence, his Majesty thought fit to send back Sir *John Harvey* Governor again to *Virginia*. But altho' this Step was judged to be necessary, in order to maintain the Crown's legal and just Authority, the King was far from neglecting the distressed Condition of his poor Subjects in that Colony, for whose Ease, Comfort and Relief, his Majesty, in his Royal Justice and Goodness, was pleased immediately afterwards to recal Sir *John Harvey*, by sending over Sir *William Berkeley*, a worthy, good, and just Man, to succeed him in that Government.

WHILE these things were transacting, the *Indians*, who had taken Offence at the Incroachments made on their Lands by some of Sir *John Harvey's* Grants, and observing the *English* to be uneasy and at Variance among themselves, that subtle old Man *Opochancanough* concerted the Scheme of a second Massacre; which was executed so suddenly on all the Out-settlements, that they cut off almost five hundred Souls; and yet the Execution was not near so general as the first, because the *Indians* of late had not been suffer'd to frequent the inner Plantations, so that it chiefly fell on those who were settled at the greatest Distance from the Seat of Government, but especially about the Head of *York River*, where *Opochancanough* himself lived.

It has been said above, that *Opochancanough* was Brother to the late Emperor *Powhatan*; but nevertheless it was reported

reported among the *Indians*, that he came from a Foreign Nation a great way towards the South-west, which made some of the *English* think that he had come from one or other of the *Spanish* Settlements in *Mexico*, near the Mines of *St. Barbe*, and perhaps this might have been the true Reason why *Powhatton* left *Itopatin* his Successor; but be that as it will, *Opochancanough* was not only a comely Person, but had extraordinary natural Talents for keeping those rude People in Subjection, and intirely at his Command; for so great was his Authority amongst them, that from this time until he was taken Prisoner, there was not so much as one Hour's Truce between the *English* and the Natives.

ON Sir *William Berkeley's* Arrival in *Virginia*, he did all he could to discountenance and suppress the unjust Grants which had been made by Sir *John Harvey*; so that none of them took Effect, except such as became liable to the Payment of Quit-Rent, and were subjected to the settled Conditions of granting Lands in that Colony. The Governor at the same time encouraged the People, by his own Example, to make Trial of several Manufactures, such as Pot-Ash, Soap, Salt, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and Cotton; but the smart *Indian* War, in which they were engaged, greatly obstructed these Improvements, by employing so many of the People in the Country's Defence.

OPOCHANCANOUGH was now of a great Age, and so worn out with the Fatigues of War, that he could not walk, but was carry'd about from Place to Place by his own People; and his Eye-lids were become so stiff, that he could not look up, or see, until they were lifted up by those about him.

SIR *William Berkeley*, who followed him close, at last got Intelligence that he was then at a small Distance from his old Seat; whereupon the Governor made so speedy a March with a Squadron of Horse, that he surpris'd the King in his Quarters, and brought him Prisoner to *James Town*, where he was treated with all imaginable Tendernefs and Respect.

THE proud *Indian* shew'd no Dejection of Mind at his Confinement, but rather exulted in Expressions of Courage and Magnanimity to the last; for one Day, hearing a greater Noise than common, of People treading in the Room where he was, he order'd his Eye-lids to be lifted up; and when he perceived that a Crowd had been let in to gaze on him, he called with an Air of Authority to speak with the Governor; who no sooner came, but the scornful *Indian* told him, That had it been his Fortune to take Sir *William Berkeley* Prisoner, he would have disdained acting so mean a Part as to make a Shew of him to the People.

SIR *William* intended to have sent this Royal Prisoner to *England*, for an Amusement to the King, but Fate dispos'd otherways of him; for about a Fortnight after he was taken, one of the *English* Soldiers, who strongly resented the Calamities which they had suffered by this old Emperor's Means, shot him through the Back, of which Wound he languish'd a short time, and died.

IMMEDIATELY after *Opochancanough's* Death, the Governor made a firm Peace with the *Indians*, which continued for a long time without Interruption; so that the *English* had no more Apprehension of any Danger from that Quarter.
But

But the Civil War, which then raged in *England*, obstructed all manner of Trade, and lessened very much the Supplies that usually came from thence.

THESE national Misfortunes not only affected the loyal and good Governor himself, but were also felt by the Inhabitants of *Virginia*, who in general behaved themselves in all Things, as became a dutiful and loyal Set of good Subjects to the King; for altho' there were no *Puritans* as yet amongst them, they proceeded to make severe Laws against that Sect, and *Oliver Cromwell's* Authority was neither submitted to, nor acknowledg'd in *Virginia*, until the Year 1651. when, after reducing *Barbadoes* and the *Caribbee* Islands, Captain *Dennis* came thither with a Squadron of Men of War to subdue that Colony; but the *Virginians*, who gallantly stood by their loyal Governor to a Man, made such a stout Resistance, by the Help of some *Dutch* Vessels in the Port, which they took the Liberty to make use of on that Occasion, that Captain *Dennis* could not succeed, until by sending Notice to two Members of the Council, who had Goods on Board his Fleet, that they must lose their Effects, if they did not immediately submit to the Protector's Authority, there arose so many factious Disputes amongst the leading Men, that the brave Sir *William Berkeley*, and all his Friends, were forced to yield on the Terms of a general Pardon; after which Sir *William* remain'd in that Country, under a private Character, during the time of that unnatural Rebellion. And it must be own'd for the Honour of *Virginia*, That it was the last Part of the King's Dominions, which submitted to *Cromwell's* Usurpation, and afterwards the first that threw it off.

THE Protector having now overcome the Difficulties he met with, in reducing all the *English* Plantations to his Obedience like a skilful and wise Governor, he thought of proper Means to keep them under a due Subjection to their Mother-Country, and to make them hereafter useful to its Interests. For this Purpose he caused to be framed, and passed into a Law, the famous Act of Navigation, whereby the People of the Plantations were restrain'd from making use of Foreign Shipping, and from trading with Foreigners, to the Prejudice of *England*; which Act of Parliament, however severe it might at first appear to be to the Inhabitants of the several Colonies, yet, if we speak impartially, it must be owned to be a just and good Law, calculated for the mutual Advantage of *Great Britain*, and her Plantations abroad: For as it is impossible, with good Reason, to justify any Measure for advancing the Prosperity of, and enriching the Plantations, which at the same time evidently appears to be hurtful to *Great-Britain*; so it will likewise be found injurious to the Publick, to restrain the Subjects in the Plantations from any Advantage they can possibly raise to themselves by any Means, which as evidently appear to be inoffensive to the national Interest and Trade of *Great-Britain*. Without Doubt therefore, it was for just and wise Considerations, That on King *Charles* the II^d's Restoration, the same Act of Navigation, together with several other good Laws, framed in the time of *Cromwell's* Usurpation, were actually renew'd and confirm'd by Parliament.

As it is natural for Mankind to be more or less partial to their own immediate Interest and Gain, without scrupulously weighing the Consequences of Things, some Grains of Allowance are to be made for these Writers on the State of the Plantations about this time, who not only charge *Crom-*
well

well with the Invention of this tyrannical Law, as they call it; but also blame him for a no less commendable Piece of Policy, in frequently changing the Governors abroad, to prevent their intriguing with the People; a Practice which, to be sure, in some Colonies is more requisite than in others; as at this time it was in *Virginia*, whither, during the time of his Protectorship, he sent over *Diggs*, *Bennet*, and *Matthews*, one after the other.

A SHORT time before the Restauration, while King *Charles* the Second was yet an Exile in *France*, Governor *Matthews* died in *Virginia*; and no Person being appointed by the Protector to succeed him, it gave the People, who had an Aversion to *Cromwell*, the Opportunity of applying to their old Friend Sir *William Berkeley*, whom they unanimously intreated to take up his former Authority.

SIR *William*, who was a conscientious Loyalist, altogether declined complying with their Request, on any other Terms but that of submitting themselves again to the King's lawful Right and Dominion over them, which with one Voice they readily consented to do; whereupon Sir *William Berkeley* resumed the Governor's Power and Authority, by proclaiming *Charles* the Second King of *England*, &c. To which by the by he was probably encouraged, as well as justified therein, by a Commission which he privately receiv'd from the King during his Exile.

IMMEDIATELY after the King's Restauration, a new Commission for the Government of *Virginia* was sent over to Sir *William Berkeley*, with Leave for him to appoint a Deputy, and to come and pay his Duty to the King at *London*. Sir *William* accordingly named Colonel *Francis Morrison*.

Morrison his Deputy-Governor; and that no time might be lost by his Absence, he gave Colonel *Morrison* Direction to cause the Laws to be revised, and to have them ready compiled into one Body, in order to their being confirm'd by the Assembly at his Return.

SIR *William* was graciously receiv'd by the King, but return'd very speedily to his Charge in *Virginia*; where his Deputy had been very diligent to execute his Orders, for the Laws were collected together and prepared; whereby, amongst other things, the Church of *England* was establish'd to be the Religion of that Country; Parishes were regulated; and besides a Mansion-house and Glebe, a yearly Stipend in Tobacco, to the Value of eighty Pounds *per Annum*, was settled on the Minister.

FOR the Support of the Government, a Duty of two Shillings Sterling, *per* Hogshead, on all Tobacco exported; and one Shilling *per* Ton on all Shipping, excepting such as were built in the Country, was made perpetual, and the Collectors thereof were obliged to render an Account to the Assembly. Premiums were given for the Encouragement of several Manufactures, that did not interfere with those of *England*, and every thing relating to the *Indians* was carefully provided for; all which Laws were confirmed by the Assembly, and, in short, there was nothing omitted to be done by that worthy Governor, which could any way contribute to establish the Peace and Prosperity of the Colony.

IN the Year 1663. some Penalties were inflicted by severe Laws, in order to prevent or stifle the Progress of some Sectaries in Religion, which began to appear amongst them;

them; so that those who had come thither, fled to other Colonies, and others were prevented from coming to settle in *Virginia*.

THIS Persecution of the Dissenters, together with the Restraints that had been laid by Acts of Parliament on Trade, and the low Price of Tobacco, four'd the Minds of a great many, and paved the Way for their being debauched with rebellious Principles; which were daily instilled into them by some old crafty *Oliverians*, who had been transported thither as Servants; but had the Insolence at last to form a villainous Plot to destroy their Masters, and set up for themselves.

THEY had carried on this Conspiracy with so much Secrecy, that it was not discovered until the Night before the design'd Execution, which was to have been at *Poplar Spring* in *Gloucester County*; but it was happily revealed by one of the Conspirators, whose Name was *Birkenhead*.

THE Moment that the Governor had Notice given him of this villainous Design, he gave secret Orders for a Party of the Militia to be in Readiness at the Place of Rendezvous, and to seize the Conspirators as they came there to meet one another; which Orders were so well executed, that four of them were taken and hanged, but the rest escaped by opportunely meeting, as they approach'd, with some of the Gang that had run away. *Birkenhead* the Discoverer, being only a Servant, was gratify'd with his Freedom, and a Reward of two hundred Pounds. And the 13th of *February*, being the Day on which this Plot was to have been executed, an anniversary Thanksgiving was appointed to be kept, in Memory of their happy Deliverance from so great a Mischiefe.

WHEN

WHEN these Particulars came to be reported to the King, his Majesty was pleased to send his Royal Commands to cause a Fort to be erected at *James Town* for the Governor's Security, as well as to be a Check on future Events of the like Nature; but the Danger being over, they contented themselves only to raise a small Battery, on which some Pieces of Ordnance were placed.

ANOTHER Act of Parliament was made about this time to prevent the Importation of all Foreign Goods into the Plantations, except such as came directly with Custom-house Clearances from *England*; and altho' this was likewise a very reasonable Law, yet the People of *Virginia* imagin'd that it had the Consequence to raise the Price of all *European* Goods to what the *English* Merchant pleased to put on them; while at the same time it lower'd the Value of Tobacco, which was their Staple and chief Commodity.

HEREUPON the Assembly of *Virginia*, in order to pique the Merchants at *London*, whom they suspected of having some Hand in advising these Restrictions which had been lately put on the Plantation Trade, made an Act to prohibit the planting of any Tobacco for a whole Year, thinking also thereby to raise the Value of that Commodity hereafter; but their Neighbours in the Province of *Maryland* refusing to come in to the same Regulation, they were obliged, in Regard to themselves, to repeal their own Act, and to return again to the Drudgery of planting Tobacco at any rate.

SOME time afterwards the Assembly of *Virginia* made another Attempt of the same kind, by strenuously endeavouring

vouring to bring in the Provinces of *Maryland* and *Carolina* to their Measures; but failing of their Purpose, that Project was wholly laid aside.

IN order the better to inforce a due Observation of the Acts of Trade, the King was advised to order Forts to be built at the Mouth of each River in *Virginia*, intending that those only should be the trading Ports for Ships to enter and clear, which was partly comply'd with for a short Space; but such a Regulation being, from the distant Situation of the Settlements, and the Nature of the Planters Business, truly impracticable, and the People at the same time being frighten'd away from those Places, where the Shipping were expected to arrive, by terrible Reports of the Plague which then raged at *London*, all these Orders were soon neglected and forgot.

SIR *William Berkeley*, who was ever intent on pursuing the Advantage of the Colony, had a Mind to attempt some Discovery Westward towards the Mountains; for which Purpose he levy'd a small Company of about fourteen *English*, and as many *Indians*, under the Command of one Captain *Batt*. They set out from *Appamattock*, and in seven Days March reach'd the first Ridge of Mountains, which are but of a moderate Height; but when they came to the next or highest Mountains, they appeared every-where to them impassable; so that after they had travelled a great way to the Southward, looking out for a Passage over those stupendous Rocks, they fell in with a River which takes its Course through a low marshy Country, running by a slow Descent into some Part of the Gulph of *Mexico*, between *Florida* and the *Micissippi*; and at this Place the *Indians* refusing to go any further, Captain *Batt* was obliged

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liged to return, and on his Report to the Governor, Sir *William* determin'd to make such another Attempt himself in Person ; for which end he made great Preparations, and had prevail'd with the Assembly to pass an Act for encouraging the Expedition, which was unhappily interrupted at this Juncture by a very extraordinary Insurrection in *Virginia*, that goes by the Name of *Bacon's Rebellion*.

IT is not easy to conceive how any general Insurrection or Rebellion could be fomented in *Virginia* against so good a Governor as Sir *William Berkeley* ; whom the People had not only chosen themselves, but truly loved his Person, and approved his Conduct, which appeared to be unblameable ; no manner of Complaint having been exhibited against him for the Space of thirty-five Years, during which time he had devoted both his Time and Fortune to the Service of that Country. Before we enter therefore on this extraordinary Narration, it will be necessary to premise a few things, which greatly tended to sour the Minds of the People, and to distract their Thoughts from all Manner of Business.

I. KING *Charles* the Second, to gratify some Noblemen about his Person, had made two large Grants, which were distinguish'd by the Names of the Northern and Southern Grants of *Virginia*, altho' the same Men were concern'd in both. These Grants happen'd unfortunately to include within their Limits several improved Plantations, which had been seated for many Years before, and possessed under the legal unquestionable Title of Patents from the Crown. When these latter Grants therefore, which had lain dormant until the Year 1674. came to be known and claimed, it created so much Uneasiness in the Country, that the
Assembly

Assembly drew up an humble Address to his Majesty, complaining of the Injustice of the said Grants, and beseeching the King to recall them, as being highly derogatory of those Rights granted to the People of that Colony, by his Royal Progenitors; and tho' this Address was sent over, and solicited by particular Agents, for many Months together, at a great Expence to *Virginia*, which was heavily taxed by the Assembly for that Purpose, yet it never had any Effect.

2. ABOUT this time the Act of the twenty-fifth of *Charles* the Second, for better securing the Plantation-Trade, was passed in *England*; whereby several Duties were laid on the Trade from one Colony to another, and appropriated to Uses quite foreign to the People, from whom they were raised; and whether it was the Consequence of such severe Impositions on the Trade of the Plantations, or the too artful and partial Conduct of the Merchants in *England*, who enjoy'd considerable Profits by being Factors for the Tobacco Planters in *Virginia*, or partly from both, we cannot presume to determine; but certain it was, That the Price of Tobacco then was so low, that the Balance due to the Planter on his Account of Sales from *England*, amounted to little or nothing, nay, often brought him in Debt to the Factor; so that they really had not wherewithal, out of their laborious Toil, to cloathe themselves, and their poor Families.

3. THE *Indian* Trade, which was carried on by a few who made it their whole Business to travel with Caravans, a great way into the Woods, and to barter with the Natives for large Quantities of Furs and Skins, began very much to lessen and decay; which in all Probability was owing to the sudden Increase of that Trade at *New York*, since the Set-

tlement of the *English* there. Yet at this time the *Indian* Traders in *Virginia* supposed it to proceed from some Neglect or Mismanagement in the Administration of their own Government ; and therefore imagin'd, that the Governor's intended Expedition, to find out a Passage over the Mountains, would be hurtful to their Interest ; and from such Conceits, the Traders had taken upon them lately to deal very sharply with the *Indians*, and even to treat them with some Cruelty ; which so sour'd the *Indians*, that they observing the *English* to be divided amongst themselves, and apprehending by the ill Usage they daily received from the Traders, and the Noise of the Governor's Expedition, that there might be some Design forming against them, they fell into several Broils, and some Murders were committed towards the Out-settlements ; whereby, in short, the Peace between the *English* and them came at last to be intirely broken.

SUCH a Discontent was by these means spread all over the Country, that the common People neglected their usual Labour every-where ; and flocking together in Mobs, they vented their Spleen in Clamours against the *Indians*, every one desiring to be enlisted a Soldier, and to go to War with those *Barbarians*.

THERE was at this time one *Nathanael Bacon*, a young Gentleman of a very comely Aspect, who having had his Education at the Inns of Court in *England*, and being indued with the Talent of an easy and engaging Elocution, had been lately promoted to be a Member of the Council ; and was not only very much esteem'd at that Board, but looked on by every Body as a Man of elegant fine Parts.

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THIS giddy-headed Youth, who had already conceived but too well of his own Perfections, was every-where caressed by these Mobs, whom he often harangued, aggravating the Mischiefs that were daily committed by the *Indians* on the Frontier Settlements; alledging that they were wholly occasion'd by the Want of a due Regulation of the *Indian* Trade; and offering his Service to lead them against the *Indians*, and to rectify all their Grievances.

THE unthinking Multitude were so charm'd with his Oratory, that they unanimously elected Mr. *Bacon* their General; which Command he accepted on the Pretence of a public Spirit, to do them and the Country all the Service that lay in his Power, assuring them that he never would lay down his Arms, until he had revenged their Sufferings on the *Indians*, and redressed all their other Grievances.

GENERAL *Bacon*, by inlarging on every Particular of their Complaints, and exasperating all their Wrongs to the utmost, wrought up the poor People to a perfect Unanimity in their Obedience to his Command; and after mustering all the Men, he sent a Message to the Governor, representing to the Height the Injuries that had been done by the *Indians*, and desiring that a Commission might be sent to him as General, to go out against them. The Governor being well apprised of the Esteem which some leading Men in the Council had for this Gentleman, did not flatly refuse his Request, but only sent him Word, that he would consult the Council, and then return him an Answer.

IN the mean time *Bacon* was extremely diligent to get every thing ready; and being intoxicated with the absolute
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Power and Command, which his People had conferred upon him, he began his March without waiting any longer for the Commission, contenting himself with sending another Message to hasten it after him; but instead of the Commission he looked for, the Governor sent him a positive Order to dismiss his Men, and immediately to return himself, on pain of being declared a Rebel.

THIS Order gave equal Surprise and Trouble to the General and his Army, who nevertheless persisted in their Resolution to proceed; yet, to preserve some Decency, Mr. *Bacon* took forty good Men along with him, and went down the River in a Sloop, to wait on the Governor and Council at *James Town*; but Things not answering his Expectations there, he gave himself the Liberty of talking a little too freely, which provoked the Governor to suspend him from the Council-Board; whereupon *Bacon* and his Followers got on Board their Sloop, and left the Place in a Huff. The Governor instantly caused a Boat to be mann'd, and pursued the General so close, that he was obliged to take to his Boat in order to escape; but the Governor having had the Precaution to dispatch a Messenger by Land to the Shipping above at *Sandy Point*, with Orders to stop him, the poor General was brought back, but received with some Civility, because the Governor was doubtful whether his Instructions would justify the Suspension he had made of this Gentleman from the Council. However Mr. *Bacon* still insisted on having a Commission, to be General of the Volunteers, with Orders to go out against the *Indians*, from which the Governor took a great deal of pains to dissuade him, not suspecting the secret and self-interested View, which *Bacon* and some of his particular Friends had, to monopolise all the *Indian Trade* into their own Hands.

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THE terrible Accounts which were then brought of fresh Murders committed by the *Indians*, gave Mr. *Bacon* an Opportunity of renewing his Request with more Vigour than ever ; but finding that he could make no Impression on the Governor to grant it, he stole privately out of Town, and putting himself at the Head of six hundred Voluntiers, he marched directly to *James Town*, where the Assembly was then sitting ; and after having drawn up his Men before the Door, he presented himself to the House, setting forth the great Preparations he had made, and alledging, That if he had obtain'd such a Commission as he demanded, the *Indian War* would have been happily finished before this Time.

THE Governor resented this Proceeding of *Bacon's* as an insolent Affront, and obstinately refused to consent to any of his Demands, openly exposing his bare Breast to him and his Soldiers, daring them to use the least Violence to himself, or any Man else ; but the Assembly apprehending some fatal Consequence might attend the provoking of a discontented and armed Multitude, who had the Governor, Council and Assembly, all in their Power, they addressed the Governor to grant Mr. *Bacon* his Request ; and having themselves prepared a Commission, constituting him General of the Forces in *Virginia*, they brought it to the Governor to be signed, which he did with great Reluctancy. Mr. *Bacon* having thus gain'd his Point, he and his People marched off ; but as soon as the Assembly judged, that the General and his Forces were removed to such a Distance from them, as that they might deliberate with Safety, the Governor, by their Advice, issued a Proclamation of Rebellion against *Bacon*, commanding his Followers to surrender him, and forthwith

forthwith disperse themselves, giving Orders at the same time for raising the Militia against him.

THE People were very much exasperated at the Governor and Assembly's Proceedings against their beloved General, whose Address and Eloquence had gain'd such an absolute Dominion over their Hearts, that they unanimously resolved to stand on their Arms; and instead of obeying the Proclamation, they marched back, with the General at their Head, to *James Town*, directing their Fury against all who should dare to oppose them. Hereupon the Governor was obliged to fly over the Bay to *Accomack*, on the Eastern Shore, hoping that the Infection had not yet reach'd thither; but the People there, instead of offering to protect and defend their Governor and great Benefactor, begun to insist on Terms with him, expecting that he would not only redress all their Grievances, but also grant them a Liberty of Trading, contrary to the Rules established by the late Acts of Parliament in *England*: Thus from a most extravagant and unexpected Jealousy, wherewith the People's Heads were occasionally filled, without any Reason or Ground whatever, the good Sir *William Berkeley* was abandon'd by all his Friends, except a very few, that went over to him in small Boats from the Western Shore; amongst whom Major *Robert Beverley* was the most active and chief Person to serve him.

GENERAL *Bacon*'s first Step was to hold a Convention with the Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood of *James Town*, and such others as pleased to come to him; at which Meeting they published a Declaration justifying their Proceedings, and obliged People to take an Oath of Obedience to Mr. *Bacon*, as their General; and by Advice of this Convention,
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on Pretence of the Governor's Abdication, the General issued Writs signed by himself for calling an Assembly.

BY this time the Governor had mustered a small Party of his own, commanded by Major *Beverley*, whom he had furnished with Arms, Ammunition and Sloops, to carry them over the Bay, in order to oppose the Rebels: Some Skirmishes happen'd between them, wherein several were killed, and others taken Prisoners; so that they were driving on furiously by a Civil War to destroy their Infant Country, when it pleased God to put an End to their Misfortunes, and to Mr. *Bacon's* Designs, by his natural Death at Dr. *Green's* House in *Gloucester* County; but altho' great Inquiry was made after his Body, in order to its being exposed to public Infamy, they could never discover where he was buried.

THESE Disorders in the mean time occasion'd a total Neglect of Husbandry, as well as a great Destruction of Cattle, &c. which gave a dreadful Prospect of Want and Famine; but the Rebels having lost their Head, they began to squabble amongst themselves, every one endeavouring to make the best Terms he could for himself. Their principal Officers, under *Bacon*, broke the Ice, by surrendering on Condition of Pardon for themselves and their Followers; but they were rendered incapable of bearing any Office in that Country, for the time to come; and Peace being thus restored to *Virginia*, Sir *William Berkeley* return'd to the Seat of Government, and every Man to his own Home.

AFTER so much Confusion the Governor thought proper to call an Assembly, to settle the Affairs of the Country; but the poor City of *James Town* lay at this time in a desolate Condition, having been burnt down in the late Rebellion,

bellion, by one of *Bacon's* Captains, named *Richard Lawrence*; who, when his Men refused to obey him in that Point, had the Barbarity to set Fire to the Houses with his own Hands.

THE Noise of this Rebellion in *England* gave the King Occasion, in the Year 1677. to send over Commissioners, to inquire into the Authors of it; and he also sent a Regiment of Soldiers, who, tho' they came too late, yet continued there for some time; but the good Sir *William Berkeley* was in so bad a State of Health, that he was obliged to go for *England*, where, soon after his Arrival, he died, before he had seen the King, who sent daily to inquire how he did, and express'd himself with great Tenderness and Concern for the Loss of so dutiful and loyal a Subject.

Herbert Jefferies, Esq; succeeded Sir *William Berkeley*, in the Government of *Virginia*: He made a formal Treaty of Peace with the *Indians*, and held an Assembly at *Middle Plantation*, about seven Miles from *James Town*; when many Regulations were made in the *Indian Trade*, and particular Places appointed for the Natives to bring their Goods to Market; but they not being accusom'd to Restrictions of that Sort, and naturally suspicious of Novelties, did not much regard these Regulations, which therefore soon became obsolete. Presently afterwards Governor *Jefferies* happen'd to die, and in the latter End of the Year 1678. Sir *William Chicheley* was appointed Deputy-Governor; in whose Time the Assembly caused Magazines to be built at the Heads of the four great Rivers, which they filled with Arms and Ammunition sufficient, and appointed a certain Number of Men in each of them, to keep the *Indians* in Awe, and prevent their frequent Depredations.

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It being customary at this time for the Inhabitants of *Carolina* and *Maryland* to send their Tobacco into *Virginia*, to be shipp'd off for *England*, this Assembly seem'd to mistake their own Interest, by prohibiting their Neighbours from importing any Tobacco thither, which of Consequence drew off a good Part of the usual Shipping from *Virginia*, to attend the *Maryland* Planters.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1679. *Thomas Lord Culpepper* arrived, Governor of *Virginia*, and brought with him several Laws ready drawn up in *England*, to be enacted by the Assembly ; and being invested with ample Powers to pardon such as had been concern'd in the late Rebellion, and to restore Peace to the Country, it was easy for him to obtain whatever he pleased to ask from the People. Thus, after my Lord had engaged their Affections by passing many popular Acts, he was not wholly negligent of his own Interest ; for he got the two Shillings *per* Hogshead, and other Duties, which had been laid for the Support of Government, not only to be made perpetual ; but instead of being accounted for to the Assembly as formerly, they were now to be disposed of, from time to time, as his Majesty and his Royal Successors should think fit ; so that in Stead of one thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which had been usually given to the Governor, my Lord had the Influence to obtain an Order from the King for two thousand Pounds out of the said Duties, together with an Allowance of one hundred and sixty Pounds more, for House-Rent, besides all other Perquisites of the Government. Moreover his Lordship laid hold of this Opportunity to convert the Present of Wine, &c. which had usually been made to the Governor, on the Arrival of each Ship, into a certain Fee of twenty Shillings Sterling, at the Entering and Clearing of every Ship

under an hundred Tons Burthen, and thirty Shillings for all above that Size; and these Fees continue to be exacted by the Governor, or his Deputy, ever since that time.

THE Lord *Culpepper* seem'd to express a great Concern for the Interest of the Country, by proposing to raise the Value of their Silver Coin, in Proportion to what it then bore in the neighbouring Colonies, in order to keep it from being carried out of *Virginia*; and the Assembly were so sensible of the Misfortune, that they proceeded to prepare a Bill for that Purpose; but my Lord prevented them, by insisting on it to be the King's Prerogative to alter the Denomination of the Coin; and after he had caused a Proclamation to be issued to that Effect, he produced an Order for disbanding the Regiment that had been sent from *England*, and paid their Arrears in Coin of the new Value, greatly to his own Profit; yet after a short time, finding that this Alteration of the Coin very sensibly affected a considerable Part of his own Perquisites, he thought convenient to make use of the same Prerogative to reduce it again to the former Standard.

THE Country enjoying at this time a profound Peace, great Quantities of Tobacco were made, and both good and bad was shipp'd home for *England*; which so lower'd the Value, that it yielded but a very small Price; which bred fresh Discontents amongst the People, who despairing of Success in any new Attempt to bring the *Marylanders* into a Regulation of that Commodity, some of them took it into their Heads this Year, totally to destroy the Tobacco-Plants, and especially the sweet-scented, which Sort was produced no-where else. The Ringleaders of this Project began first to cut up their own Plants, and then proceeded to destroy those

those of their Neighbours who refused to do it themselves; which Outrage being adjudged to be Sedition and Felony, several of them were committed to Prison, and some of them condemned to be hanged; which, with the Help of an Act then passed by the Assembly, put a Stop to that Practice for the future.

IMMEDIATELY after this Affair of the Plant-cutting was over, Lord *Culpepper* returned again Governor; and while he was holding his second Assembly, his Lordship having it then in View to purchase the Proprietorship of the Northern Neck, *viz.* that Slip or Portion of Land, which lies between the Rivers *Rappahannock* and *Potowmack*, he conceived it would be for his Purpose to alter the Method hitherto used, in appealing from the general Court to the Assembly; for which End, he artfully fomented a Division between the House of Burgeses and the Council, by encouraging the lower House to insist on determining all Appeals by themselves, exclusive of the Council; because the latter having opined as Judges in the general Court, were for that Reason unfit to hear Appeals from themselves in the Assembly. The House of Burgeses, not suspecting my Lord's Design, insisted strenuously on the Point, until the Quarrel between them and the Council came to such a Height, that on my Lord *Culpepper's* Representation of the Matter to the King, he obtain'd an Instruction from his Majesty, to take away the Appeals from the general Court to the Assembly, and to cause them for the future to be made to the King himself, in his privy Council, when the Subject in Debate arose to the Value of three hundred Pounds Sterling and upwards; otherwise that there should be no Appeal from the general Court in any other Case.

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MY Lord *Culpepper*, being a Man of sound Judgment, observed, that the Attornies and Clerks, in Imitation of the Practice in *Westminster-Hall*, took on them to enter up Reasons along with the Judgment, in order to serve as Precedents for the future, which my Lord rectify'd by cutting off all dilatory Pleas, as hurtful to Justice ; and he not only kept the Court close to the Merits of the Cause, and to a speedy Determination, but also order'd the Judgments to be enter'd up short without any Reasons, leaving Posterity to decide according to the Equity of the Matter before them.

IT was during this Lord's Administration, that the Magazines on the Heads of the Rivers were taken away, and the Expence of maintaining a Number of Men there saved, by appointing a small Party of light Horſe, called *Rangers*, to ſcower the Woods, which answer'd the End much better ; and thus my Lord *Culpepper*, having ſtay'd but a very little longer in the Country than he had done the firſt Time, appointed his Kinsman, Mr. Secretary *Spencer*, to act as Preſident, and return'd himſelf to *England* ; where ſoon afterwards his Lordſhip purchaſed a firm Title to the Proprietorſhip of the *Northern Neck*, which in the twenty-ſirſt Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, had been granted by Letters Patents under the great Seal to *Henry* Earl of *St. Albans*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *William* *Morton*, and *John* *Trethwey*, their Heirs and Affignees for ever. But that Grant being clogg'd with ſome particular Reſtrictions, King *James* the Second, by an ample Charter, bearing Date the 27th of *September*, in the 4th Year of his Reign, confirms the former Grant of the *Northern Neck*, and the late Conveyance made thereof, to *Thomas* Lord *Culpepper* ; re-
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leaving the restrictive Clause in the former Patent, with all the Arrears of Quit-Rent due, in Consideration of many great and important Services performed to the Crown by that honourable Family : Of which the only Daughter and Heirefs was afterwards marry'd to *Thomas Lord Fairfax*, Mother to the present Lord *Fairfax*, who has lately taken the Pains to go over thither himself, and at a very considerable Charge, to cause an exact Survey to be made of that valuable Estate, in order to determine some Disputes which have arisen between his Lordship and the Government of *Virginia*, concerning the Limits and Boundaries thereof.

IN the Year 1684. the Lord *Culpepper* declining to return to *Virginia*, *Francis Lord Howard of Effingham* was sent Governor ; and this Nobleman created a new lesser Seal of the Colony, whereby he exacted considerable Fees for licensing of Lawyers, Schoolmasters, &c. and likewise he extorted Money for affixing his Seal to the Probates of last Wills, and Letters of Administration. These oppressive Measures, together with his taking on himself to act as Chancellor and sole Judge in Equity, occasion'd some grievous Complaints to be made of him to the King ; and Colonel *Philip Ludwell* was sent over Agent against him to the Court of *England*, whereupon the Seal-Money was disallow'd and taken off.

IN my Lord *Effingham's* Time, there was a Duty laid on all Liquors imported into *Virginia*, as a Fund for rebuilding the State-house, where all the Courts usually sat, which had not been repaired since it was burnt down by Captain *Lawrence* in *Bacon's* Time : Many People however complain'd, that under the Notion of a superior Skill in the Law,
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Lord *Effingham* introduced Novelties into the Proceedings of their Courts, pretending exactly to follow the *English* Forms ; but in the Year 1689. when my Lord was removed, and Colonel *Nathanael Bacon* left President, all these Innovations were laid aside, and the Course of Business return'd again into its old Channel. About this time the first Scheme of a College was projected, and being laid before the President and Council, it was very much approved, and referr'd to the Assembly, which did not happen to meet during this President's Administration.

IN the Year 1690. *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; was sent over Lieutenant-Governor, under my Lord *Effingham*; and this Gentleman made himself vastly popular amongst the common People, by conversing freely with them on all Occasions, as also by encouraging public Exercises, and Country Diversions ; nay, he was so indulgent to them, as frequently to suffer the Mob to come into the Room where he was entertaining Company at Dinner, and was much diverted with their scrambling amongst one another, and taking all the Victuals off from the Table before him. When the Project of a College was communicated to Governor *Nicholson*, he very much liked it ; and altho' it was some time before he called an Assembly, yet when a Subscription for the College was proposed in Council, the Governor set a most generous Example at that Board, which in a very short time made the Subscription arise to the Sum of two thousand five hundred Pounds.

WHEN the Assembly met in the Year 1691. they heartily espoused the Affair of the College ; and having drawn up a loyal Address to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, they sent it home by the Reverend Mr. *James Blair*,

Blair, to solicit a Charter from the Crown, for the better Establishment of the said College; and their Majesties were so well pleased with this pious Design, that they not only granted the Charter desired, but gave two thousand Pounds (being the Balance of Quit-Rent then due) towards the Charge of Building, besides endowing it with twenty thousand Acres of the best Land, together with the perpetual Revenue, arising from the Duty of one Penny *per* Pound on all Tobacco, transported from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, to the other *English* Plantations.

THE Governor passed some Acts in this Assembly, for the Improvement of several Branches of Trade, and the Encouragement of Towns, but he soon changed his Mind; for at the Meeting of the next succeeding Assembly, he altogether disapproved of what had been done the Year before, which proceeded (as it was supposed) from the Influence of the Tobacco-Factors or Merchants at *London*, whose Interest, no Doubt, it was, to keep the *Virginia* Planters from cohabiting together in Towns; which probably might have forced some Kind of Trade and Shipping, that in time would have enabled them to transport their Tobacco to Market themselves.

IN the Year 1692. Sir *Edmund Andros* arrived Governor, and found the Country much divided in their Opinions about encouraging Towns and Trade, which was still attributed to the Influence of the *London* Merchants, to whom most of the Planters were indebted, and consequently under their Awe: But be that as it will, the Assembly at this time prepared a Law for that Purpose; which being sent over to *England*, it was remitted back again to *Virginia*, for fur-

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ther Consideration, which put an End to all future Attempts of that Nature.

SIR *Edmund Andros*, being a Man that loved Order and Regularity, took the Trouble himself to inspect into the Management of the public Records; and finding them in very great Disorder, he not only altered their Method of keeping them, but took Care to provide every thing that was wanting, to preserve all the Books and Papers for the future in such elegant Order, that whatever was called for, might be found in a Moment; and even after the State-house was burnt, in *October* 1698, the Governor did not give over his Diligence, but caused all the Papers that had been saved from the Fire, to be again sorted, and register'd more exactly than they were before; which was of infinite Service to the People of that Colony.

IN *November* 1698. *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; was removed from *Maryland*, and sent once more Governor to *Virginia*: He was a Man of great Probity, but strong Passions, and paid almost Adoration to every thing which had any Relation to the Interests of the Church and Crown; his Zeal that way was sometimes so furious, that it led him beyond the Rules of Justice, and made People often mistake his unhappy Prejudices for vitious and arbitrary Inclinations; he all along shew'd such a Contempt for Riches, and was so extensive in many repeated Acts of Generosity, that it gave his Enemies the Handle to impute every commendable Thing he did to an immoderate Excess of Vanity. A Weakness which often perverts the best Intentions, and lessens the Influence, as well as Character, of Men in Power.

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THIS Gentleman, for the Sake of a more dry and healthy, as well as convenient Situation, removed the Assembly and the Courts of Judicature from *James Town* to a Place called *Middle Plantation*, because it lies at an equal Distance from *James* and *York* Rivers, between two Creeks, which afford the Conveniency of Water-Carriage from each of them. Here Governor *Nicholson* projected a large Town, and laid out the Streets in the Form of a W, calling the same *Williamsburgh*, in Honour of the reigning King: He also caused a magnificent Edifice to be erected, opposite to the College, where the Assembly, Council, and Courts of Judicature, now sit, containing Rooms also for the Secretary, Attorney-General, and other public Officers of the Government; for he continued to affect Popularity more than any other Branch of Grandeur, and sought all Opportunities to express, on every Occasion, an extraordinary Zeal for the Honour of his King and Country.

IN *August* 1705. *Edward Nott*, Esq; was sent over Lieutenant-Governor, under the Earl of *Orkney*, as Governor in Chief; and it has been the Practice ever since that time, for the Governor in Chief of *Virginia* to reside in *England*, and to receive out of the Salary of two thousand Pounds, twelve hundred Pounds *per Annum*; which is paid to him by the Lieutenant-Governor residing in the Country, whose Commission is from the King, under the same Authority of the Great Seal, as is the chief Governor's; by which means, the Titles of Honour and Power of Acting are equal in both. Governor *Nott* was a Man of a very mild Temper and Behaviour, but did not live to give the People that Happiness which might have been expected from his Administration; for after he had passed several good Laws,

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and prevailed with the Assembly to provide a Fund, to build a convenient House at *Williamsburgh*, for the Governor's Residence, he died in *August* 1706. whereby the Administration fell into the Hands of *Edward Jennings*, Esq; then President of the Council, who had no Occasion to hold any Assembly; so that all Things remain'd quiet in *Virginia*, until the Year 1710. that Colonel *Alexander Spotswood* came over Lieutenant-Governor, under the Earl of *Orkney*, in the same manner that Mr. *Nott* the preceding Governor had done.

THIS Gentleman, who was born at *Tangier* in *Africa*, + and bred in the Army from his Infancy, had a most excellent Genius for all Kinds of Business; and was likewise Master of such Application, that he seldom or never fail'd of succeeding in any thing he undertook: He had been dangerously wounded in the Breast, by the first Fire which the *French* made on the Confederates at the Battle of *Hockstadt*, and afterwards served with great Applause, during the Heat of that bloody War, as Deputy Quarter-Master General, under Mr. *Cadogan*, in the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army. He was well acquainted with Figures, and so good a Mathematician, that his Skill in Architecture, and in the laying out of Ground to the best Advantage, is yet to be seen in *Virginia*, by the Building of an elegant safe Magazine, in the Centre of *Williamsburgh*, and in the considerable Improvements which he made to the Governor's House and Gardens. He was an excellent Judge on the Bench, and knew perfectly well how to reconcile the People's Liberties with the Rights of the Crown, which he always faithfully maintain'd. He projected a Law for the Regulation of the *Indian* Trade, whereby an easy Provision was made of a perpetual Fund for instructing the *Indian* Children

Children in the Principles of Christianity ; and it succeeded wonderfully, until some designing Merchants in *London*, who conceived their particular Interest to be affected by that Law, procured a Repeal thereof from *England*, which unhappily put an End to the only practicable Scheme that had been yet attempted for converting the *Indians*. This Governor also contrived another Act for improving the Staple of Tobacco ; by which the Quality thereof being examin'd, it was to be allowed or rejected by Officers appointed for that Purpose in each County, who were obliged to build Storehouses at all the convenient Landing-places in the several Rivers, where the Planters were likewise obliged to lodge their merchantable Tobacco, and to take the Officers Notes for the Quantity more or less in Weight ; which was to be deliver'd to the Bearer, and shipp'd off on Board what Vessel he pleased to direct ; by which means any Planter might go to a public Store or Shop, and buy any small Quantity of Goods he pleased with his Tobacco Notes ; whereas before, he could not deal without selling at least one Hoghead. But this Law, which had an excellent Effect in the Country while it lasted, proved likewise disagreeable to the private Interest and partial Views of particular Men, who found Means to have it repealed.

COLONEL *Spotswood*, who was a perfect Master in all the Branches of the Military Art, kept the Militia of that Colony under exact Discipline ; and in the Year 1714, he went in Person, and, with indefatigable Labour, made the first certain Discovery of a Passage over the great Mountains ; and indeed he was ever employed in some public Design for the Interest and Advantage of *Virginia* ; nevertheless by the factious Arts of some intriguing Men in the Council of that Province, who had neither Ability nor
Courage

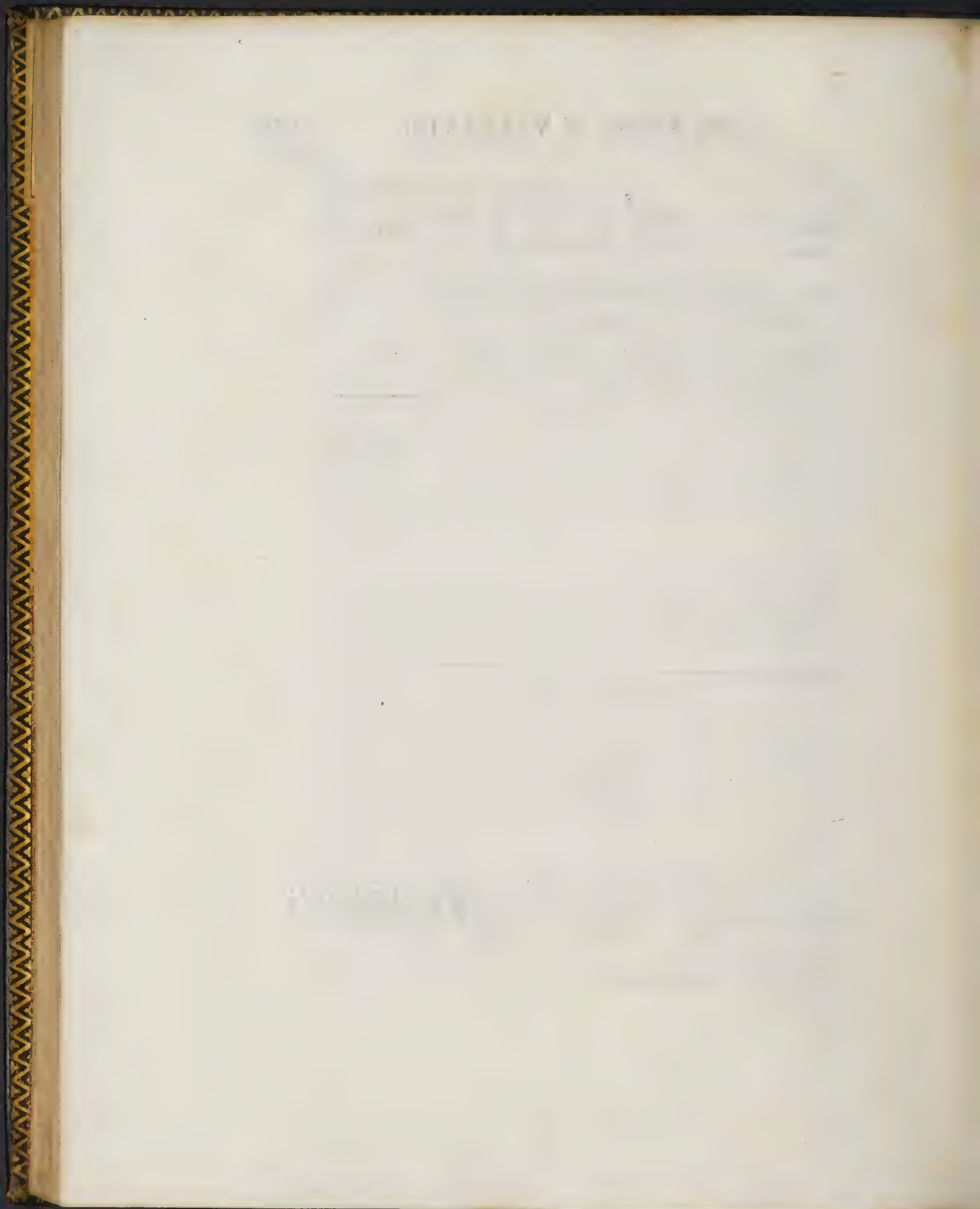
Courage openly to contend with him, his Interest in *England* was at length so far undermined, that after he had governed there to the almost universal Content of all the Country, for the Space of thirteen Years, without any Manner of Complaint having ever been publicly exhibited against his Administration, he was superseded in the Year 1723. by Major *Drisdale*, who then arrived Governor under the Earl of *Orkney*; but he, dying in less than two Years, was succeeded by the present Lieutenant-Governor Major *Gouge*, who has hitherto given universal Satisfaction, by not only keeping the Colony in good Order and Quiet, but also by indulging and promoting great Improvements in the Manufacture of Pig and Bar-Iron, and conducting the public Business of that Country to the general Content of the People.

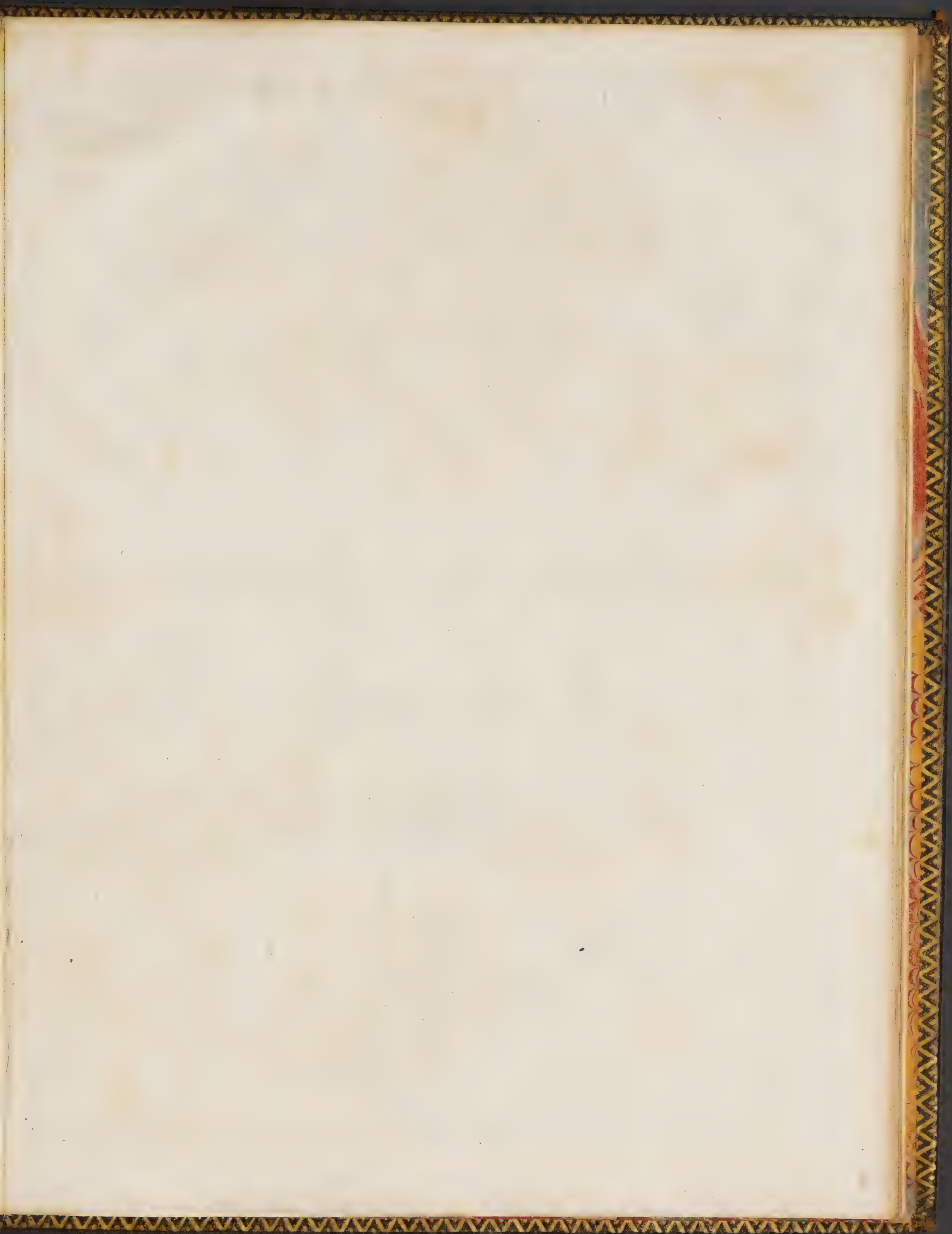
The Revenue of VIRGINIA, arising from the Quit-Rent of Land, and other perpetual Duties established by Act of Assembly in that Province.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
THE Annual Receipt of Quit-Rent, at two Shillings Sterling <i>per</i> hundred Acres, being the Revenue of the Crown paid into the Receipt of the King's private Exchequer, is an increasing Fund amounting at present to about	35	00	00
THE two Shillings Sterling <i>per</i> Hogshead on Tobacco, exported at a Medium of thirty-two thousand Hogsheads <i>per</i> Annum, is	32	00	00
	<hr/>		
	Carry'd over	67	00 00
		Brought,	

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	6700	00	0
ONE Shilling Sterling <i>per</i> Ton on ten thousand Ton of Shipping Yearly, is	500	00	0
THE establish'd Fees for Marriage-Licences, Probates of Wills, and entering and clear- ing of Ships; together with other legal Perquisites belonging to the Governor re- siding there, is, <i>per Annum</i> ,	600	00	0
TOTAL	7800	00	0

REMARKS







A New MAP of
 Virginia
 humbly Dedicated to y^e Right Hon.
 Thomas Lord Fairfax
 1738.





TRADE and GOVERNMENT

VIRGINIA.

A a

them ;

them; whereby the real Interest of the Subject in the Plantations would evidently appear in every authoritative Act, which was made and done with Relation to them.

To judge equitably and truly in an Affair of this Nature and Importance, let the Man whose Zeal leads him to put severe Restraints on the Subject in *America*, but first take Time and Opportunity to be inform'd how they live and support their Families there; and after he has supposed himself to be in that Situation, let him then reflect and consider, how far these Restraints, he is so anxious about, will correspond with that Security, which he, and every *British* Subject depends on for enjoying such a Proportion of Liberty and Property, as is absolutely necessary to secure the Comforts of Life.

WE have, it is true, daily Occasion to observe in the City of *London*, a very few Men, whose industrious Application to the Planting Business in *America*, has enabled them to remit to, and place such a Share of their Wealth in *England*, as that they can educate their Children in the best Manner, and perhaps ride in their own Coaches; but we do not at the same time advert to the prodigious Fatigues which probably they have undergone in procuring this Wealth; and much less do we consider the vast Multitude of Slaves and Servants they are obliged to maintain, and other extraordinary Expences they are continually engaged in, to support the Fabric of a very precarious Estate, which can no way be compared to any Interest consisting of Land or Money in *Great-Britain*. Besides, however the Masters of such *American* Fortunes may wallow in Plenty at Home or Abroad, it is well known to those who have seen *America*, how miserably and poorly the labouring

Part

Part of the People live, occasion'd chiefly by the vast Disproportion which ever subsists between the Value of Cloathing, and other Necessaries sent from *Europe*, and the Product of *America*, when it comes Home to Market.

As often as this Subject has happen'd to come under the Consideration of either House of Parliament, or of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, it has been customary to send for and examine the *London* Merchants on the one Side, and the Gentlemen of Estates in *America* on the other, with Intent, no Doubt, to do equal Justice between them: Nevertheless their Evidence for the most Part has always been so contradictory to each other, even in Points of Fact, that it was no easy Matter for an impartial Judge to decide in the Case; neither indeed does any proper Remedy to prevent this Inconveniency, readily occur, unless the Government should think fit to grant a yearly Allowance for some time to a certain Number of young Gentlemen, in order to travel, and instruct themselves in the delicate Affair of National Commerce, as it is distinguishable from the Merchants Profit or private Gain; for, besides that it cannot well be expected, that the *British* Merchant, or the Planter abroad, will of their own Accord, generously incline to favour the Public, in Prejudice to their own private Interest, the Method wherein they are commonly train'd up, and the little Arts they daily acquire in Business, have a quite different Tendency with the public Interest, and keep them wholly ignorant of the Sources and Channels of that sort of Dealing; which, together with a reasonable Profit to themselves, brings always some national Advantage along with it. It is very well known, that a Practice of this Nature has been used to very good Purpose of late Years by the Court of *France*, who ge-

+ nerally chuse public Ministers out of their Council of Trade, to negotiate Treaties of Commerce with Foreign Nations, as well as to manage all Commercial Affairs within themselves, to the no small Advantage of that Kingdom.

THERE must of Necessity always be such a Connection between the Interests of the Planter or Proprietor of the Tobacco raised in *Virginia*, and the Factor at Home, who is absolutely intrusted with the Sale of it, at whatever he pleases to call the Market Price, that, in short, the one cannot subsist without the other's Aid. While therefore we suppose them to deal honestly and fairly by each other, the Advantage of their Correspondence being mutual, it cannot fail to content them both : But when a covetous Desire to over-reach and to grasp at an immoderate Gain, happens to appear on one Side or the other, it gives such Discouragement to the Loser, as in some measure affects the whole Trade, and consequently that National Interest which is involved therein. Wherefore it becomes a Duty on the Administration to be careful, that material Justice in all Cases be done between the Planter and the Merchant, otherwise the Public must unavoidably share in the Loss sustained on either Side.

It may perhaps appear very natural to imagine, that this Care ought chiefly to lie on the Person who is at the time intrusted with the particular Administration of the Government in *Virginia* ; and, no Doubt, it is from him that the King and his Ministers expect to be truly inform'd of the impartial State of the Case. But if we may presume to suppose, That Governors are sometimes sent over, rather to acquire handsome Fortunes to themselves, than generously to condemn private Gain for the Sake of public
Virtue ;

Virtue ; or, which is much the same, that sometimes the Merchants, and at other times the Planters, find Ways and Means to influence the Governor on their Side of the Question ; then indeed, there are but small Hopes of bringing the Controversy to an equitable Determination ; so that the public Interest of the Nation, in so considerable a Branch of its Commerce, is more through Negligence, or for Want of due Information in the Ministry at Home, than Design, often prostituted to private Ends, and very low Purposes.

THE most antient, tho' not the most considerable, Branch of Commerce in *Virginia*, is the *Indian Trade* ; which, as it appears from the preceding History, has, for want of due Regulation from time to time, occasion'd many bitter Contests, and dangerous Commotions in that Colony. But as the Spirit for extending and enlarging that Trade in *Virginia*, seems to be almost extinguished, so that the People there content themselves with only supplying the Wants of the few *Indians* that remain on this Side the Mountains, it is needless at present to say any more on that Subject ; but if ever the *English* (as one time or other they probably may) extend their Settlements in *Virginia* beyond the great Mountains, and come to possess Lands on the Lake *Erie*, and as far back as the Branches of the River *Micissippi*, then will their *Indian Trade* become very considerable indeed ; and create such a Vent for coarse Woollens, and other *British* Manufactures, as will justly merit the Care and Encouragement of the State.

IT is certain, that the Lands in *Virginia*, especially towards the Heads of the Rivers, are capable of producing many Sorts of useful Commodities, such as Hemp, Flax, Pot-Ash, &c. and also might be greatly improved by cultivating

tivating of Vineyards; but it is a Question whether it would be prudent at this time, to withdraw so great a Share of the Hands from planting Tobacco, as these other Manufactures would necessarily require. Wherefore we shall proceed to consider the only remaining Branch of useful Trade carried on there, which was but very lately introduced into that Colony at a great Expence, by Governor *Spotswood*, viz. the Manufacture of Pig and Bar-Iron.

ONE would think that the Articles on the Custom-house Books of the vast Quantities of Iron, that are yearly imported into *Great-Britain* from the *Baltic*, *Russia*, and *Spain*, would be sufficient to convince every one of the Necessity that urges *Great-Britain* to encourage the Manufacture and Importation of that Commodity in and from her own Plantations; which would greatly lessen, if not in time totally prevent, the yearly Remittance of a large Balance in ready Cash to these Foreign Countries; but this laudable Design, tho' often attempted, has unfortunately been obstructed hitherto, by the private Interest of a few, who happen to be concern'd in the Forges and Bloomeries that yet remain in *England*, notwithstanding they are now carried on at a larger Expence, and with much more Difficulty than formerly, and likewise consume great Quantities of Wood that we can but ill spare. How long those private and particular Interests may still prevail, to the Discouragement of so great a public Good, is uncertain; but we presume to affirm, that there is not any Proposition in Trade more demonstrable, than that the *British* Plantations in *America*, with very small Encouragement, can afford any Quantity of Iron of an equal good Quality with that which is imported from the above Countries, and at as cheap a Rate as it comes from thence to be sold in *England*.

THE

THE Revenue arising to the Crown from the Quit-Rents of Land in *Virginia*, is not only considerable at this time, but must proportionably increase, as the Settlements come to be extended Westward; and therefore we may suppose, that one time or other, it will be consider'd as a Piece of public Justice, to see that the Crown Revenue in *Virginia*, and in each of the other Colonies, be regularly accounted for, and apply'd to no other Use, but the Protection and Improvement of that particular Colony to which they respectively belong; and this would not only prevent effectually all Sort of Misapplication or Embezzlement, but give a reasonable Contentment to those poor industrious People from whom it is raised.

BESIDES the above yearly Rent of Lands, which doubtless will be considered as the King's Domain, to be disposed of according to his Royal Will and Pleasure; there is another Kind of Revenue in *Virginia*, as well as in others of those commonly called *The King's Colonies*, to distinguish them from Proprietary Rights, which is a perpetual Tax granted by the Representatives of the People, for the Support of Civil Government; and such is the two Shillings Sterling *per* Hogshead on Tobacco, out of which is taken the Governor's Salary of two thousand Pounds *per Annum*. Now, when Revenues of this Kind happen to increase with Time, so as vastly to exceed the Sums they were intended at first to raise, it is humbly conceived, that the Surplus or yearly Increase ought, in all Justice, to be applied to public Uses for the Service of the Colony, and not squander'd away to gratify the Avarice of Particulars: a Practice which tends exceedingly to sour the Minds of the Subjects in the Plantations, and often leads them to conceive hard and disagreeable

agreeable Notions of those who are appointed over them abroad, as well as of their Superiors at home.

THE sending over Men of high Rank and Quality to be Governors in the Plantations, in order chiefly to repair, in a short time, their broken and decay'd Fortunes, has often been attended with very bad Consequences, and even destroyed the flourishing Condition of many of the Colonies. Wherefore the Method, which of late Years has been followed in *Virginia*, seems to be much more eligible, viz. by appointing some Statesman or great Officer about the King's Person to be Governor in Chief, and sending over another Gentleman of inferior Rank to be the acting Lieutenant-Governor, whose Conduct abroad, as far as it is commendable or justifiable, is sure to be well supported by the Chief at home, against all the little frivolous and mutinous Complaints, which are too frequently made from those remote Parts by partial and ill-designing Men. And it is very remarkable, that ever since this has been the Method of appointing Governors in *Virginia*, that Colony has not been so subject to Broils, and much less troublesome with Complaints to *England*, than it formerly used to be.

As to the *British* Merchant and the Planter's Interests, with respect to their Conduct and Management, in carrying on the Tobacco-Trade, they have each of them taken great Pains to pursue that Business in such a mysterious Way, as it is not easy for those who are not immediately concerned therein, to trace; and in truth it must be own'd that the Multiplicity of Duties, Draw-backs, Bonds, and other Regulations of the Customs, wherewith that Trade is perplexed, has in a manner forced the Merchant into many little Contrivances, which in all Probability

lity would otherwise never have been thought on. But it is to be wished, that the honest Merchant, and fair Trader, who has a due Regard to the public Interest of his Country, as well as his own Profit, would always consider the *Virginia* Planter's Interest as inseparable from his own ; for it is impossible but the Planter, whose Eyes are open, must daily perceive, That the Value of his Labour and Estate rises or falls in Proportion to the Application and Integrity of his *British* Factor ; and with respect to the National Interest of *Great-Britain*, if the Tobaccos from *Virginia* are legally imported, and the Duties paid or accounted for, according to the Regulation of the King's Customs, these Factors, who render the fairest Account, and act the most favourably for the Planter's Benefit Abroad, ought to be preferr'd and encouraged, without regard to their Rank ; and indeed no just and wise Administration can be supposed to countenance any Set of Men in the Monopoly of so considerable a Branch of Trade, wherein they have no Pretence to any other Share, than the bare Commission of Factorage without either Labour or Risque. An Emulation therefore, amongst those who are inclin'd to purchase the Tobacco Abroad, or set up for Consignments at Home, which of them can yield the best Profit to the Planter, must always tend to the Advantage of the Public ; whose Protection and Encouragement is most certainly due, in the first Place, to him that raises a Commodity under many hazardous Fatigues and Inconveniencies, to the enriching of the State.

ALTHO' Tobacco be a Staple Merchandise ever in Demand, yet the Value rises and falls in Proportion to its Goodness, and the Quantity raised from Year to Year ; which precarious Condition of the Planters Estate in

America, requires a careful Oeconomy to inlarge or contract his yearly Commissions to *Britain* for Goods, according to his Crop, and the current Value of Tobacco; for when he acts otherwise, and suffers himself, by any Excess of Luxury, to become considerably in Debt to the *British* Merchant or Factor, he must be unavoidably reduced, in a short time, to the Necessity of mortgaging his Plantation, together with all his Slaves and Stock; which disables him from dealing with whom he pleases, and from finding any Fault with his Account of Sales, or with the Quality and Prices of such *British* and other *European* Commodities, as the Factor, or rather his Creditor, thinks fit to send him from time to time; which, in Fact, is the unhappy Situation of two Thirds of the *Virginia* Planters at this time, who may be consider'd only as so many working Slaves for the Benefit of their Factors in *Great-Britain*, without so much as a Prospect of being released from that Bondage.

THERE being no Variety or Choice in *Virginia*, of any Merchandise to deal in but Tobacco, and the needy Planter being so hamper'd and confined in the Disposal of his Crop, as above described, that Colony is by no means to be considered as a proper Place for a young Merchant to improve his small Stock in Trade; nor indeed for any one to send his Adventure thither, who does not intend to be concern'd in the Commission Business of Consignments from thence. The other Colonies on the Main, who cannot afford a sufficient Product for immediate Returns to *Europe*, are much better adapted for these Purposes, as will more evidently appear in its proper Place, when we come hereafter to remark on the Nature of their Trade and Government.

As

As to the College erected in *Virginia*, and other Designs of the like Nature, which have been proposed for the Encouragement of Learning, it is only to be observed in general, That altho' great Advantages may accrue to the Mother-state, both from the Labour and Luxury of its Plantations, yet they will probably be mistaken, who imagine, That the Advancement of Literature, and the Improvement of Arts and Sciences in our *American* Colonies, can ever be of any Service to the *British* State.

The END of PART I.





182058

